

# MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

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George N. Fuller, *Editor*



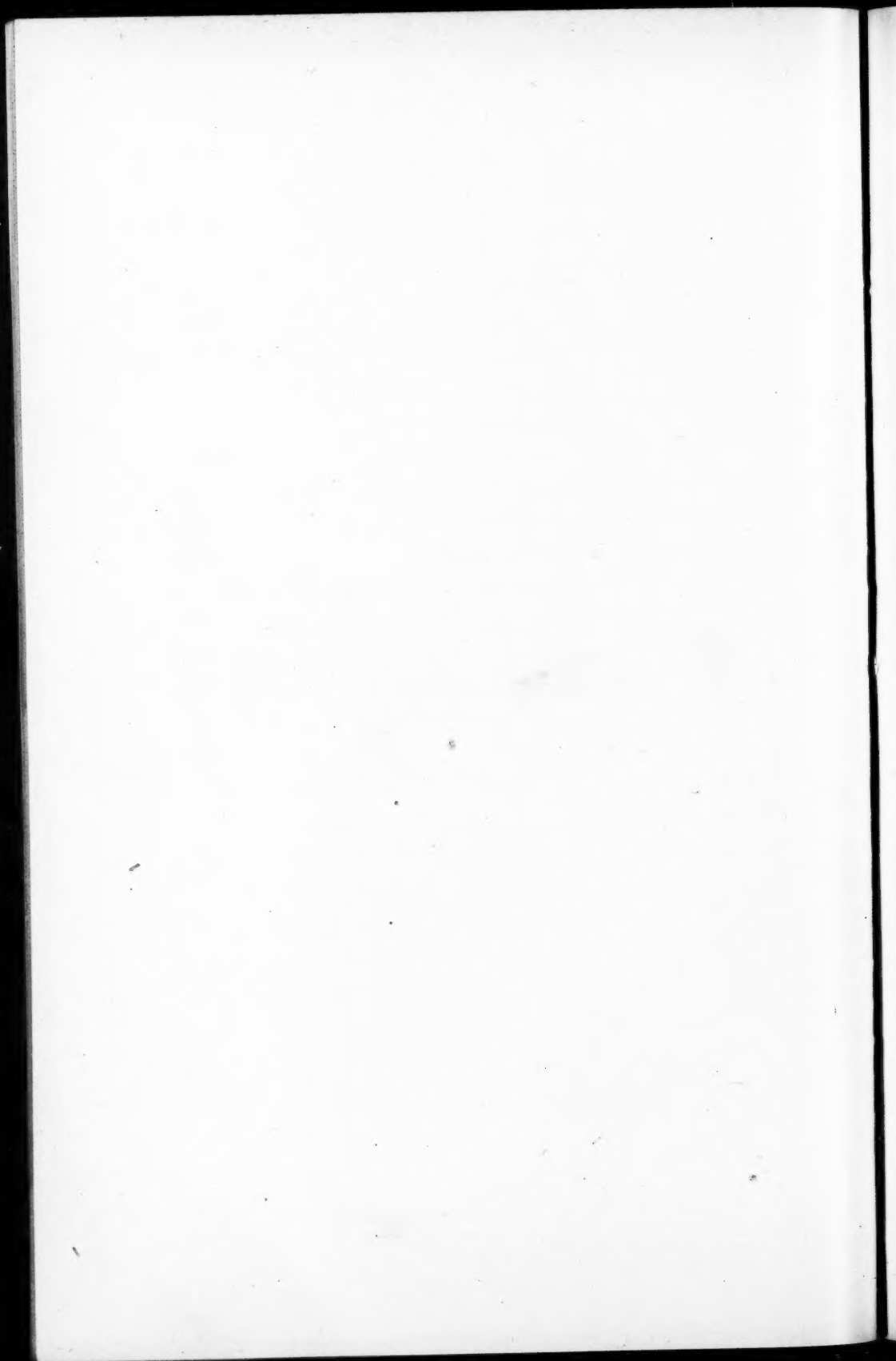
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## DETROIT MICHIGAN'S CAPITAL 100 YEARS AGO

BY THE EDITOR

**I**N the beginning of the last century, all of Detroit that was material was swept away in the great fire of 1805. Detroit began life anew practically with the beginning of Michigan as a Territory. Indeed the coming of the new Territorial officials in that year marked the dawn of American settlement in Michigan.

From 1812 to 1815 the growth of the village of Detroit was seriously interrupted by war, and thereafter it grew slowly, until the land sales of 1818 attracted the settlers who were to bring needed stimulus to agriculture, trade, commerce, and manufacture.

For the future convenience and appearance of Detroit the fire of 1805 was doubtless fortunate. The Governor and Judges planned a new city in which the narrow streets of the old French village were superseded by wide avenues. As a result, though the plan was later somewhat modified, few cities in the United States have fairer streets than those of Detroit today.

Thomas McKenney, author of *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*, who visited Detroit in 1826, apparently did not wholly approve of the plan. "It looks pretty on paper," he admits, "but is fanciful; and resembles one of those octagonal spider webs which you have seen in a dewey morning. The citizens of Detroit would do well, in my opinion, and their posterity

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See the writer's volume *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan* for citation to sources.

would thank them for it, were they to reduce the network of that plan to something more practical and regular."

And his view seems to have been shared by the editor of the *Detroit Gazette*, who says that "everyone regretted the plan of our city" which none but "a wild and eccentric mind" could have evolved. One objection urged seems to reflect the practical spirit accompanying the tide of immigration. The plan involved "a great waste of ground" and it could not be enjoyed "by the present generation" because the beauty of the plan depended on compactness of buildings. A more serious objection was urged in the memorial of Detroit citizens to Congress in 1829 which recited the confusion of titles resulting from deeds granted by the Governor and Judges covering the original streets.

In connection with this factor in the settlement of the village there should be mentioned a serious drawback due to the composition of the streets. The soil was formed of a finely divided clay which was mixed with a black loam, and when it was saturated, as it usually was in the spring and autumn, it made a mud so adhesive and deep as to put the streets almost out of service. The mud was so bad that it is said to have been often necessary to use a horse to get from one side of the street to the other; there were neither pavements nor crosswalks in this period.

The only means of ingress or egress to Detroit by land was along a road passing near the shore, which for a large part of the year was scarcely less muddy than the city streets. By this road in 1818 the mail was supposed to arrive once a week, but it was often delayed.

The importance of the mails was one of the chief incentives to the improvement not only of this, but of all roads in the Territory. Prompt mail service was a source of great concern to the local newspapers, which depended upon it for eastern and foreign news. When the issue of the papers was held over, as it often was, an editorial explanation was pretty sure to appear expressing disappointment and urging the need of

better roads for the mail service. It was more than a decade, however, before there was much improvement.

The frontier character of life in Detroit in 1818 is reflected in primitive conditions on every hand. Detroit was the center of a flourishing frontier fur trade. In ordinary merchant trade the common method of exchange was barter, and the unit of value was generally a pound weight of prime beaver-skin; accounts were kept in that currency, largely owing to the fact that the war had made money scarce.

Prices were on the whole high, especially on articles imported from the eastern states. In a local paper we read, "Since the last war, a greater price has been continually paid in Detroit for flour, beef, pork, corn, etc., than is paid in any market in the United States." Tea is said to have been \$3 a pound. The *Gazette* for January 22, 1820, says: "As prices are in our market, a New England farmer of common industry and enterprise could purchase one or two good farms with the avails of his barnyard and vegetable patch for one year."

There was as little manufacture as mercantile trade. The French way of living created little need for manufactures aside from a few simple articles of domestic use. A small quantity of leather was tanned, which was marketed mainly at Montreal. The Indians furnished mats, dressed deerskins, moccasins, baskets, brooms, and some 150,000 pounds of maple sugar annually. A few artisans made trinkets for the Indian trade.

The lake commerce of Detroit in 1818 may be measured by the shipping belonging to that port, which amounted to nearly a third of all the Lake Erie shipping owned in the United States. The exports for that year were sixfold greater than the imports. Together they amounted to less than \$85,000. Imports amounted to about \$15,000. The relatively large export trade probably represents furs.

Of public utilities there were few or none. Drinking-water was carried from the river in pails and kept at the houses in barrels. These barrels of water were the sole protection against fire, and were supplied with handles to expedite their

use against fire in case of need. By an ordinance of the board of trustees in 1815 each householder or renter was to provide himself with a "wooden vessel" which should hold about twenty-five gallons of water, together with a pole strong enough to sustain it. But even this amount of protection seems not to have been taken seriously, if we may judge from the fact that Governor Cass was fined for violating the ordinance. The agitation for public water works reached the stage of first experiments about 1820.

The health of the city was endangered by public nuisances which do not seem to have been early removed. In contemporary opinion they were associated with the excessive mortality of the epidemics of cholera in 1832 and 1834. The "intolerable stench" from the "green stagnant pools" and "masses of putridity" dangerous to health is deplored by the *Gazette* of June 22, 1821; however, not much public service could be expected from an annual city revenue of only a little over \$250.

Despite these primitive conditions William Darby, who had traveled extensively, perceived in Detroit in 1818 "all the attributes of a seaport" with "all the interior features of a flourishing and cultivated community, as much so, equivalent to numbers, as any city in the United States." And in the same year the traveler, Estwich Evans, conceived the situation promising for a "large and elegant city."

Leaders of public opinion at Detroit seem to have been conscious that the year 1818 was opening a new era for the city and the Territory, as appears in the articles commenting on the rapid settlement during that year. It is significant that a census was taken for that year by the Detroit Lyceum, whose members were leaders in the city. It was found that Detroit contained a population, not including the garrison, of 1,040, with 142 dwelling houses. According to the same authority, fifty-one buildings were erected during 1818. Significant of the new spirit is a mere list of the organizations formed in 1817-18, mainly in the latter year.

The new spirit of enterprise was an invitation to eastern laborers and mechanics. In the autumn of 1819 masons and

carpenters received from twelve shillings to \$2.25 a day, and common laborers \$1 a day. In Philadelphia men were working on turnpikes for a shilling a day, while four or five thousand people were out of regular employment. Harvest laborers were working for half of their former wages. In Detroit (1821) masons are said to have been obliged to discontinue work for lack of brickmakers. At least a beginning was being made by organized labor. The Detroit Mechanics' Society, incorporated in 1820, appears to have come into existence at least informally in 1818.

The tendency of the French-Canadians to regard all "Yankee innovations" with suspicion stood not a little in the way of Detroit's material progress. The elder Antoine Beaubien, it is said, forcibly resisted the surveyors who outlined the opening of the city's main thoroughfare, Jefferson Avenue, through his property. In 1832 a committee of the common council reported that Joseph Campau refused to receive the sum assessed to him for damages due to the enlarging of Griswold Street.

A New York visitor who passed through Detroit in 1834 says that the French were not disposed either to sell or improve their property. To quote his comment: "Many of the farms now cross the streets of Detroit at right angles at the upper end of the town, and of course, offer on either side a dozen building lots of great value. The original owners, however, persist in occupying them with their frail wood tenements and almost valueless improvements, notwithstanding large sums are continually offered for the merest slice in the world off the end of their long-tailed patrimonies." Recent writers offer the apology that the French had great provocation, in the manner in which their wishes were over-ridden. A contemporary accounts for their caution by their experience in having been so many times cheated.

The city profited much by its position at the very door of the new Territory. It became a rendezvous for settlers and a clearing-house of ideas about the interior. Frequently settlers who intended to go to the interior or further west to

Wisconsin and Illinois made only tentative plans until they should reach Detroit, where many were induced to settle within its limits or in its vicinity. The reaction of the agricultural settlements was soon to become a positive and strong stimulus to settlement in the city, which in turn would put new life currents circulating through the rural districts.

Compared with the earlier days the period beginning with the land sales and the opening of steam navigation on Lake Erie showed rapid progress. But imagination could easily overdraw the picture. It was not until 1822 that a second steamboat appeared on the Lakes, which on its first arrival at Detroit brought only ninety-four passengers. The land sales attracted a considerable number of settlers; but there appears to be no proof for the frequent statement that there was a great inrush of settlers from the very beginning.

There were many signs of an eastern element in the population, among which was the formation of the First Protestant Society in Detroit, with about a dozen members. City lots near the Capitol building were quoted in January, 1824, as selling at \$100, and an advance of a hundred per cent was anticipated during the next season. The city boundaries were extended and apparently a new interest in local government is expressed in the new city charter of 1824 creating a common council. By a census "recently taken" which appeared in the *Gazette* for January 2, 1824, Detroit had a population of 1,325, exclusive of the garrison. Some five hundred people were living outside in the immediate vicinity.

With the opening of the Erie Canal evidence of new life in the city increased more rapidly and a growing consciousness of competition with other lake ports, especially with Cleveland, appears. Fifty-eight new buildings were erected in 1825, of which nearly one-half were two stories high. McKenney, whose brief epitome of Detroit for 1826 has the authority of a competent eye witness, says that "Jefferson Street" was pretty well built up in that year, also the first street from the river, and the three or four cross streets, but that houses were com-



paratively few and scattering back of Jefferson. He mentions thirty stores. Mail came three times a week.

The territorial census of 1827 records 380 heads of families in the city, of whose names at least half appear to be other than French. In that year a growing civic consciousness appears in the report of the committee of the common council to investigate and suggest improvements of the city, and their report probably furnishes a fair estimate of the most pressing needs at that time. Of some dozen suggestions the first four, considered apparently the most important, concerned the removal of disease-breeding refuse from the margin of the river, a sewer, a new fire engine, and pavement for the principal streets. The stimulus to this action appears to have been a desire to utilize the recent Federal grant of ten thousand acres of land from the adjacent military reservation, which is mentioned as making unnecessary a tax to carry out the proposed improvements.

Still one gathers the impression of a rural, though thriving, waterside village. In the statement of occupations in the census of 1827, 451 people were engaged in agriculture, 46 in manufacture and 5 in commerce. It is said that in 1829 a little way up Jefferson Avenue a common rail fence enclosed a fine clover field. Many of the houses on this principal street appear to have been still the little whitewashed tenements of the Canadian-French, palisaded as they originally were for defense against the Indians.

Detroit felt the full force of the rising wave of immigration in 1831. A contemporary says, "The demand for stores and dwelling houses is unprecedented. We have not been prepared to meet the exigencies arising from so rapid an increase of our numbers, and almost every building that can be made to answer for a shelter is occupied and filled." Buildings were in process of erection in various parts of the city.

This prosperity was somewhat checked in 1832 by the Black Hawk War and an epidemic of cholera, but the check proved temporary. An editorial in the *Detroit Courier* for August 7 of the following year congratulates the city on its freedom

from cholera when so many places in the West were suffering.

A much severer visitation afflicted the city in 1834 when it is said to have lost a seventh of its population, yet the new buildings erected that year were of such number and quality "as to give the city an air of elegance which could hardly have been anticipated a year ago." It is recorded that the new white buildings on avenues twenty-five yards wide gave the place the appearance of a "city of yesterday."

Detroit is said to have had in 1834, 477 dwellings and 64 stores and warehouses some of which were four-story buildings. By the official census of 1834 the population was then a little less than five thousand. Mail came from the East daily by steamboat and daily mails were received from various points in the interior. A further awakening to consciousness of the needs of the growing city is shown in a report of the finance committee of the common council in which an effort is made to introduce some order into the corporation's financial affairs.

Detroit shared fully in the extraordinarily rapid growth of the Territory in 1835-37. Early in 1835 the land office was thronged with speculators and home seekers, and more land was bought at the Detroit office in that year than in any year of the Territorial period. The hotels and lodging places of the city were not sufficient to accommodate the press of immigrants. In 1836 when lake navigation had yet scarcely opened, a city paper comments on the necessity of many immigrants having to stay for a time on board the boats for lack of suitable quarters in the city. It was estimated by contemporaries that for the seven months of open navigation, with an average of six boats arriving daily, some 200,000 people came and went through the port.

The official census of 1837 gives the city a permanent population of nearly ten thousand, with upwards of thirteen hundred dwellings and stores. Woodward Avenue was beginning to rank among the first business streets. The city was more or less densely settled for a distance of about three-quarters



of a mile back from the river and for a mile along the river front.

The new immigration gave a strong stimulus to the business of the city. A Detroit paper says, "Our city has never evinced such decided proofs of prosperity and rapid growth as it has shown the present summer and autumn." And says another, "Such is the ordinary bustle of business that we forget how much we are really bound by the cold and ice of winter."

In the autumn of 1836 the amount of business seems to have been about double that of the same season the year before. Business conditions at the beginning of 1837 may be judged from nearly four pages of advertisements in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* for the second day of the new year.

A complement to this was an increase in the price of city lots and the value of adjacent property. Lots at the lower end of Jefferson Avenue are said to have sold in the winter of 1835 at \$150 a foot, while in the following summer five lots fronting on Jefferson Avenue sold at auction for between \$285 and \$292 per foot. A corner lot on Jefferson and Cass sold for \$450 a foot.

The rising value of property in the outskirts of the city is illustrated in the prices brought by the farms of Lewis Cass and Governor Porter. The Cass farm of about 500 acres bought nineteen years before for \$12,000, and which when offered in 1831 for \$36,000 found no buyer, is said to have sold for \$168,000 in 1835. Two miles below the city on the Porter farm about seventy-five acres apparently brought nearly \$20,000 though only \$6,000 is said to have been paid two years before for the whole farm of 350 acres.

The business of the city was temporarily somewhat checked by the flow of money to the interior for investment, but many buyers were able to take the larger outlook for the future of the city. It was emphasized by the press. "The rage for buying land subtracts from the business of the city," admits the *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, "but accelerates the settlement of the country—for the buying mania drives on the tide of immigration. When the retarding causes we have referred to

shall be removed, our city must of necessity expand all its business operations with a rapidity which we have not yet witnessed."

By the close of the Territorial period from one-half to two-thirds of Detroit's trade is said to have been with the interior. Many merchants in the new settlement made all their purchases in the city. Ten extensive forwarding and commission houses are mentioned by Blois and MacCabe. Prices, especially of flour, appear to have risen steadily from 1835 to 1837, but a falling off ensued then, owing partly to the abundant harvests on the newly settled farms of the interior.

The relation of Detroit to the interior appears in the fact that all of the principal roads of the Territory led to it from St. Joseph, Niles, Kalamazoo, from Grand Rapids and Saginaw, and from beyond Michigan in Illinois and Ohio. Stages were running on all these routes by 1837; daily for Sandusky, Chicago, Flint, and Fort Gratiot, and triweekly for St. Joseph by the Territorial Road. But the roads were tortuous, muddy, and full of the stumps of newly fallen trees. Their condition in the vicinity of Detroit appears in the following newspaper comment on the price of wood, "What a strange fact that in a city surrounded by forests the price of wood should be five, six and seven dollars a cord."

Greater facility of transportation was beginning to be sought in railroads. By the close of the period charters had been granted to many railroad companies and strap railroads were approaching completion from Detroit to Ypsilanti and Pontiac but the day of tolerably efficient service from railroads was at least a decade away. The press of immigration emphasized the need of better ferry service between Detroit and the Canada shore. Many immigrants and their families were obliged to remain on the Canada side for days and at great expense before they could get passage across the river.

A natural accompaniment of the increase of trade was the new demand for labor, especially in activities related to building. The demand for mechanics in 1835 was greater than could be met. A daily paper notices the recent organization

of the House Carpenters' and Joiners' Beneficiary Society "to promote a good understanding between the employers and employed, to prevent and adjust disputes, to promote mechanical knowledge and to provide for those members and their families who may be reduced to want by sickness, accident, or other unavoidable calamity."

The new impulse to settlement is reflected also in the growth of manufacture and commerce. Nine "extensive" factories are mentioned by Blois, the largest of which employed each about twenty men. He mentions also two breweries, of which one is credited with being the largest west of Albany.

The increase of lake navigation and commerce in these closing years of the period impressed a contemporary as "unparalleled in the history of nations." The lake commerce, which in 1820 was accommodated by one side-wheeler, employed in 1836 thirty steamboats, some of them running to Milwaukee and Chicago. Four hundred tons of freight are said to have been carried daily.

The material prosperity of Detroit was not without some influence on civic improvements. Following the immigrations of 1826 a loan of \$50,000 was made by the city council for that purpose. Their attention was given first to a plan for the sewerage of the city. In this year the "Grand Sewer" was built.

Next, attention was turned to the water supply. In the spring of the same year a wag appealing to the members of the temperance society proclaims that "those whose principles forbid disguising water with brandy will be constrained to drink beer," unless something be done.

A contemporary writer attributes the epidemic of 1834 to pollution of the supply of drinking water through mismanagement of the hydraulic company. After some agitation the question of public ownership of the water supply was decided favorably and the works of that company were purchased by the city for \$25,500. A fire in 1837 which is said to have destroyed fifty-six buildings led to the improvement of the fire department.

The streets were poorly lighted and came in for much criticism by the press. The editor of the *Detroit Journal and Courier* ventured that a few more street lights such as the city had would produce total darkness. But little seems to have been done to improve them and the mud was as deep as ever. From a pioneer's diary it is learned that "The middle of the street is so constantly stirred up by the carts that it is a sea of mud so deep that the French ponies often get set with almost an empty cart." Mr. Farmer says that one day in 1851 he counted fourteen teams stalled in the mud at one time. There were still few if any pavements or crosswalks. The growing needs of street traffic secured some attention from the council to the question of pavement.

The presence of a new population is seen in the character of the city's buildings. The low, frail French-Canadian tenements with their unpainted fronts and moss covered roofs were quite lost among the larger dwellings and shops of the eastern settlers.

"In the principal street, called the Jefferson Avenue," writes the English author Mrs. Jameson about 1837, "there are rows of large and handsome brick houses; the others are generally wood, painted white, with bright green doors and windows. . . . . There are some excellent shops in the town, a theatre, and a great number of taverns and gaming houses."

The shifting and unsettled character of the new population is reflected in Blois' description of stores and dwellings built on leased land in such a way that they could be easily moved. It was a common sight, he says, to see one or more buildings removing from one part of the city to another. But the number of permanent buildings appears to have been fairly proportionate to the resident population.

The American population of Detroit in 1837 was principally from New York and New England, as was also a large majority of the officials of both the city and Territory throughout the Territorial period. There were a few from Virginia, of whom Judge Woodward was a strong influence in the early settlement of both city and Territory. Of the states south of

Michigan, Ohio furnished the larger number. Many prominent citizens of eastern birth came to Michigan from Marietta, Ohio.

The Negro element in the population of the city was relatively small. In 1827 it comprised sixty-six free Negroes. The 126 Negroes given in the census of 1830 were about half of the whole number in the Territory. The census figures of 1834 give 138 "colored persons," but these figures were apparently affected by the Negro riot in Detroit in 1833 over the attempt to enforce the fugitive slave law, which caused many of the persecuted race to flee to Canada. There appear to have been no slaves owned by citizens at these dates, though the earlier census of 1810 shows seventeen in the Territory. Since the Ordinance of 1787 was opposed to slavery in the Territory, immigration formed a strong antislavery sentiment in Detroit, which as a mold of public opinion in Michigan became a strong force in preparing for the crisis of 1860.

The proportion of foreign-born citizens in the population was small. Germans apparently composed the largest European element. Among the eight churches of the city Blois mentions a Protestant Church for Germans and a Catholic Church for English, Irish, and Germans. MacCabe mentions a German Church built by subscriptions from citizens of Detroit of all denominations. As early as 1835 the Germans appear to have been numerous enough to form a separate religious organization, said to have been ministered to by Pastor Schmidt of Ann Arbor, and it is probable that these earliest Detroit Germans came with the wave following the European revolutions of 1830 which brought the first Germans to Washtenaw County. By 1835 their voting strength seems to have been sufficient to attract the attention of politicians. At least a city newspaper announces its intention "to detail to the public the manoeuvres of the Central Committee to buy up our German fellow citizens."

The French-Canadians appear to have been still a numerous class, and their language seems to have been spoken in Detroit to a considerable extent in 1837. Yet they are said to have been fast amalgamating with the predominant immigrant

population. In 1834 they apparently numbered less than one-sixth of the population of the city, "which was a much less proportion to the whole than we had anticipated," comments a city paper. Their voting strength was sufficient in 1823 to elect their candidate for delegate to Congress, Father Richard, against the combination of two eager and experienced politicians.

Though in general the culture of the city had to wait upon the task of subduing nature, it was not lacking in some circles at least even at an early day. Detroit gained socially from being the capital city of the Territory. The leaders of its society were born and educated in cultured sections of the eastern states.

On his visit to Detroit in 1826 McKenney wrote, "The company at Major Biddle's last night was sufficient to satisfy me that although I have reached the confines of our population in this direction, I am yet in the circle of hospitable and polished life." Hoffman in 1833 found the city "remarkable for agreeableness and elegant hospitality."

The society of Detroit appealed to Harriet Martineau on her visit in 1836 as "very choice," and she ventures to say that it had been so since the old colonial days. She found every reason to think that "under its new dignities Detroit will become a more and more desirable place to live." "Some of its inferior society," she says, "is still very youthful,—but the most enlightened society is, I believe, equal to any which is to be found in the United States."

This culture was reflected institutionally in many ways, as seen, for example, in the works of Blois and MacCabe, where much space is given to the theatre, museum, public garden, newspapers, schools, churches, orphan asylums, and to societies of a literary, historical, scientific, and moral character. Blois mentions a public library containing 4,100 volumes.

Of "chief interest to those who regard the diffusion of useful knowledge as important to the preservation of good morals and of liberty," is a newspaper-mention of the lyceum and a course of lectures given by Mr. Houghton. The lyceum,



founded in 1818, was the forum of Detroit where the leading men of the city as well as amateurs discussed and debated topics of national interest not alone for the sharpening of wits but for the edification of the people. The programs and reports of these weekly occasions show a sense for the niceties of national questions that would surprise one who should expect to find the "back-woods" giving the predominant tone to the intellectual life of the city.

Often the newspapers of the city contained verbatim copies of important congressional speeches and presidential papers. Some historical interest was shown by the formation (1828) of a historical society the character of whose work is indicated by the volume *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan* published in 1834 at Detroit. Governor Cass was long the president and chief promoter of this society.

The schools, though on the whole reflecting the traditions of the eastern states, had obvious frontier limitations. The classical tradition was strong, but its expression was somewhat amusing, as represented by Judge Woodward, who is said to have been chiefly responsible for the system laid down and enacted into law in 1821 for the "Catholepistemiad." This institution, founded in 1817, was the beginning of the University of Michigan. It was significant for the future that its first professors were a Scotch minister and a Catholic priest. The classical tradition is reflected also in the English Classical School which was started in 1832. In 1834 an interest in female education resulted in the founding of the Ladies' Seminary.

Common-school education in Detroit was distinctly frontier in character until the period of statehood. The Catholic schools have been mentioned above; the Protestant schools were quite as meager, and not free as were the Catholic schools. Agitation for free schools is reflected in the city papers beginning about 1833, which is the date of a number of revivals due apparently to the stimulus of immigration. But it was not until Michigan adopted her first constitution in 1835, that the sure foundation was laid for the practical application of the

famous declaration in the Ordinance of 1787, that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."



## FORT WAYNE, DETROIT

BY WADE MILLIS

(Colonel, Inactive Reserve, U. S. Army)

**T**O the average citizen an element of mystery and an atmosphere of romance surrounds any military post.

The mystery follows from a lack of understanding of the uses and functions of the relatively few garrisons of troops which the government maintains at widely scattered locations in our national domain, and some even entertain the impression that they are principally social centers and that in times of peace the United States army serves no useful purpose.

The romance lies in the glimpses which the public gets of drills, of time-honored military ceremonies such as guard mounting and dress parade, of armed sentinels walking their posts; in hearing the mellow bugle notes sounding reveille, assembly, adjutant's call, and taps, the booming of the sunset gun at retreat, or in the thrill at the spectacle of the battalions standing at present-arms and the officers at salute while the regimental band renders the inspiring notes of the national anthem. When, as in the case of Fort Wayne, a bastioned fortress rears high its grim walls of masonry and earth, speaking to us of years long since passed, that mystery and that romance are more fully emphasized.

An old army register which we have consulted states that Fort Wayne is located "five miles southwest of Detroit." Today the city envelops it and extends far beyond the limits of the military reservation. It is so surrounded by the towering structures of manufacturing and commercial activities that it may be almost unobserved by strangers who pass by, and for nearly ninety years the people of Detroit have become so accustomed to its appearance that it is accepted as a part of the general landscape, somewhat detached from its general surroundings, and few of us know much of its history or of its importance as one of the unobtrusive but nevertheless necessary agencies of the executive branch of our government.

It will help us to appreciate better the story of Fort Wayne and to understand more clearly its usefulness if we review briefly some of the events that led to its construction. Such a review however will necessarily take us back a long period of time. The only starting point which seems to be appropriate antedates even the morning of July 24, 1701, when Cadillac concluded his long and difficult journey of forty-nine days from Montreal up the Ottawa River, through lakes and over portages to the Georgian Bay, thence through Lake Huron, down the St. Clair River, and across Lake St. Clair to this favored place on the high river bank, where he established a permanent settlement which he called Detroit and where he introduced civilization into this part of the Great Lakes region.

The first white men who penetrated the wilderness to this far-off location of great inland seas were the Jesuit Fathers, but rather strangely they attempted no permanent settlement where Detroit stands. They did, however, establish missions and built forts at Sault Ste. Marie and at Mackinac within the boundaries of what later became the State of Michigan long before the history of Detroit began.

As an incident of the fur trading industry in which the French were engaged and possibly because of the well-known ambition of the English to dislodge them, the French for their own protection built Fort St. Joseph where Port Huron now stands fifteen years before Cadillac founded Detroit, but they did not occupy that fort continuously. Port Huron claims that fact as firm ground on which to base the assertion that it is more venerable in years than Detroit.

The arrival here of Cadillac in July, 1701, however, was in pursuance of a definite plan to found a permanent settlement and such it turned out to be. Detroit immediately assumed a position of commanding importance to the French and helped them to maintain control of this region for many years and until their defeat by the British in the French and Indian War in 1763 when Great Britain succeeded them in possession and in the government of this region.

Almost immediately after Cadillac came, the erection of a defensive work was commenced and a plat of ground one arpent (192.75 feet) square was laid off for Fort Pontchartrain. Under the direction of Father de L'Halle the building of a church within the palisade of that fort, Ste. Annes, was commenced on July 26, 1701. This church was the first building in Detroit to be completed.

When Great Britain acquired Detroit in 1763 it abandoned Fort Pontchartrain which was built near the shore of the Detroit River and proceeded to construct Fort Lernoult, a much more pretentious work, which occupied an area farther back from the river. A part of this site is now covered by the new United States Post Office and Federal Court Building. This fort was garrisoned by British troops until July 11, 1796, when their flag was hauled down and the troops were transferred to Fort Malden on the Canadian side near the mouth of the Detroit River.

After the British evacuated Fort Lernoult the United States changed its name to Fort Shelby in honor of Governor Shelby of Kentucky who was a conspicuous character in the troublesome times of the early development of this region and through whose efforts troops from that state had rendered very substantial service in the defense of the early settlers from attacks by the Indians. The first American commander of Fort Shelby was Colonel John Hamtramck who came here with a portion of the military forces that had been under the command of General Anthony Wayne during his campaign in the Northwest which terminated with the Battle of Fallen Timbers near Toledo, Ohio, in 1796. It is interesting to note that this first American garrison of Fort Shelby included a battalion of the Second United States Infantry, which regiment now has its headquarters at Fort Wayne.

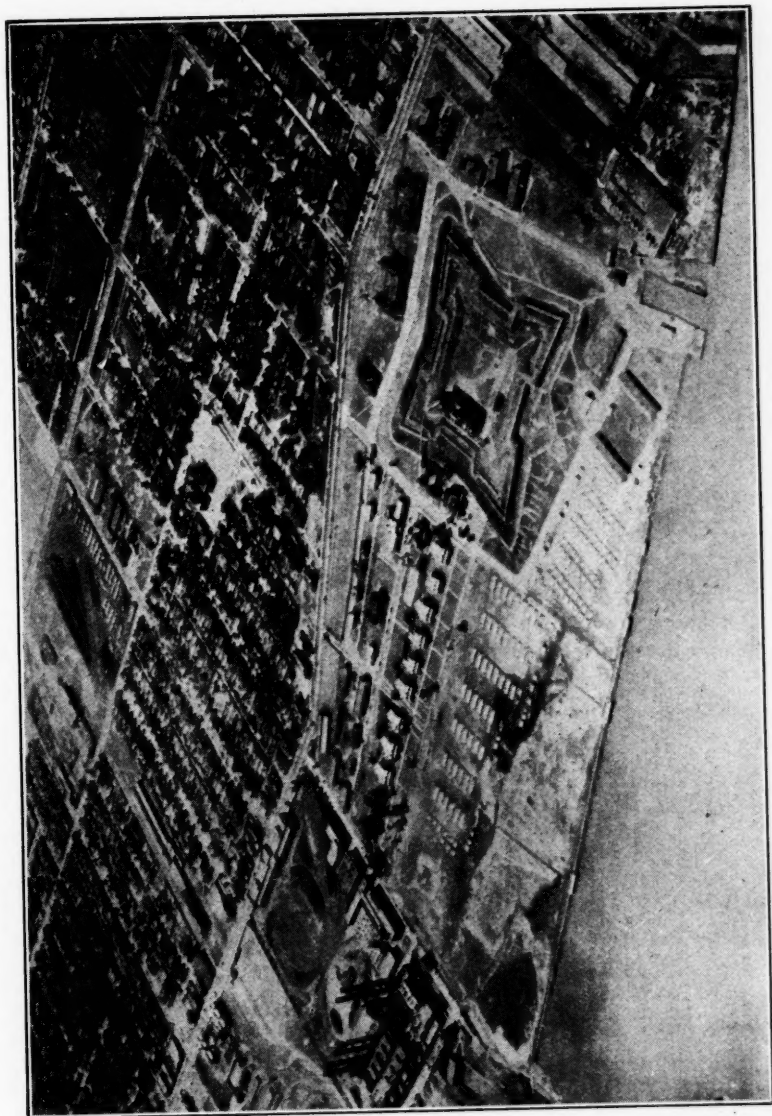
The surrender of Fort Shelby and incidentally all of this region to the British by General Hull in the War of 1812 was an event which focused attention on that fort and has served to keep its name fresh in the minds of succeeding generations. It came into further prominence also by reason of the fact

that for several months General Anthony Wayne, who was then the ranking officer of the United States Army, made it his headquarters following his notable campaign against the Indians which is above referred to.

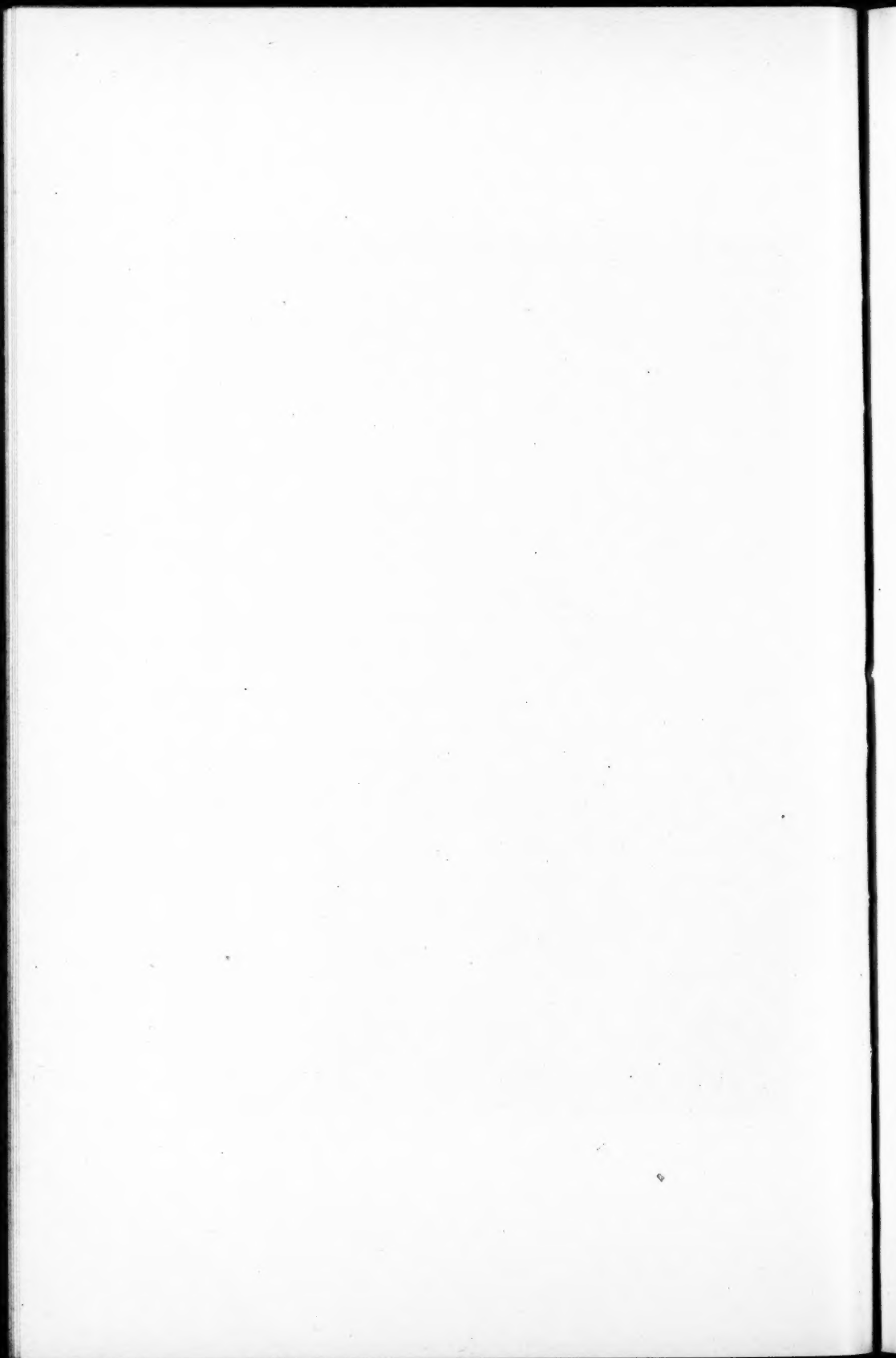
Ultimately Fort Shelby was abandoned owing to the encroachments of the rapidly growing City of Detroit, and in anticipation of its evacuation the Government established military headquarters at Dearborn and built what was called the Dearborn Arsenal, some of the buildings of which are still standing and in use in the City of Dearborn today. Pending the completion of that arsenal temporary military headquarters known as Detroit Barracks were erected a short distance east of the present City Hall near Gratiot Avenue.

Dearborn Arsenal afforded the necessary facilities of a military post for several years and until Fort Wayne, the subject of this study, was built and made ready for occupancy.

The location and construction of Fort Wayne was accomplished in accordance with a comprehensive plan which the Government decided upon and which was authorized by Congress as a part of the defensive system for the northern boundary of the United States extending from the Great Lakes region on the west to the extreme northeastern point of the national boundary line. It will be remembered that the most conspicuous conflicts in the War of 1812 occurred in that region. Following the close of that war a board of army officers was appointed for the purpose of making a comprehensive and detailed study of the subject and a report of its recommendations. This board found, in view of the fact that the principal previous attacks against us had come from Canada, and as in the War of 1812 those attacks were confined almost entirely to the northern frontier, that it was fair to assume similar attacks would undoubtedly be made in event of any future war with Great Britain, and in case of such an emergency, to inflict upon this country a sudden and severe injury by the destruction of large amounts of public and private property in the cities along the northern national boundary would offer inducements which the enemy would not



AIRPLANE VIEW OF FORT WAYNE  
Official Photograph, U. S. Army Air Corps



be likely to disregard. Furthermore the Great Lakes along this frontier, and the St. Lawrence River which afforded a practicable means of approach from the sea, were further contributing factors to offensive operations against us. The report of this board, briefly stated, was embodied under three general considerations which it recommended that any system of defensive preparations should properly take into account. These were:

1. That adequate means should be adopted for the security of the large frontier cities where much public and private property would be exposed to sudden expeditions which might be made either by land or on water.
2. That the security of lake harbors should be assured owing to their importance as places of refuge and of security to our own ships or to the fleets of an enemy when engaged in landing troops or in furnishing supplies to invading armies.
3. That the security of strategic points of approach and attacks on the boundary line should be made certain in event of possible offensive as well as defensive operations.

Pursuant to this general plan the system of defensive works which was projected called for forts at Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinaw, the foot of Lake Huron, Detroit, Buffalo, the mouth of the Niagara River, Oswego, Sackett's Harbor, Ogdensburg, Rouse's Point, and one or more near the headwaters of the Kennebec and the Penobscot Rivers in Maine. All of these works were to be somewhat similar in kind and relatively simple in their character. They were calculated to assist the operation of armed forces in the field and to protect the harbors and waters of their respective locations, but none of them was considered capable of resisting a protracted siege. These various forts were more simple in character and plans than those which were designed for seacoast defense.

It must be remembered that when this line of defensive works was determined upon the last war with Great Britain was still fresh in mind and by no means remote in point of



time, and these forts were planned with a view of contributing in a high degree of usefulness should further trouble with that nation arise. Furthermore at that time the possible menace from Indians was something that had lively consideration.

While the mutual commercial interests of the United States and Canada were developing at that time so as to render a war between Great Britain and the United States improbable, nevertheless such an event was considered by no means impossible and it was decided that common prudence should induce the United States to prepare in the best possible manner for such a contingency.

The plans for Fort Wayne were made by the Engineer Corps of the Army under the provisions of an act of Congress of August 4, 1841. In 1842 the site for this permanent work of defense was selected. The records in the office of the Register of Deeds for Wayne County, Michigan, show conveyances to the Government of land which the fort occupies as follows:

1. Deed from Robert A. Forsyth and wife, dated June 3, 1842, conveying 23.36 acres.
2. Deed from Benjamin B. Kercheval and wife, dated June 3, 1842, conveying 23.36 acres.
3. Deed from William Dwight and wife, dated April 15, 1844, conveying 7.48 acres.

The total area comprised in the reservation is 96.06 acres.

The surveys for the fort and the work of superintending its construction were carried on by Captain Montgomery C. Meigs and by his assistant, Second Lieutenant John Newton, both of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army. The work was completed in 1851, but it was not garrisoned by troops of the regular army until December 15, 1861, when Companies B and F of the Third United States Cavalry, Captain Alfred Gibbs commanding, were transferred to this post. Since December 15, 1861, it has been occupied continuously as a military post by troops of the United States Army.

The old fort on the military reservation at Fort Wayne, Detroit, would be technically described as belonging in the



class of Permanent Fortifications, as distinguished from temporary or field defensive works. It is a bastioned fort on a horizontal site, square in general outline plan, with a surrounding dry ditch or moat. The over-all dimensions of the main enclosing or scarp wall are 550 feet on each of the four sides. On the outer boundary of the dry ditch is the lower counter-scarp wall, and outside of this the earthen slopes, called the glacis, which extend around the greater part of the entire circuit of the fort. The masonry, including the scarp wall of the main parapet, the counter-scarp along the outer edge of the ditch, and various secondary walls, are practically all of brick work. Some masonry parts like steps, coping, and local retaining walls, are of cut stone. Many details like the gun emplacements on the parapet, the side walls and vaulted ceilings and groined arches of the interior rooms or casemates and passages show notable evidences of being the work of highly skilled masons and bricklayers.

The most noticeable features of the general plan of the fort are the *bastions* at the corners. These give the plan the well known "Star" appearance which is so prominent a characteristic of the plans of nearly all such defensive works of a former period. Another prominent feature is the *demi-lune* which reinforces the river face. This is an auxiliary structure that resembles somewhat the main parapet in cross-section and in provisions for mounting guns, but it is triangular in plan, and not a crescent or half-moon shape as its name might suggest.

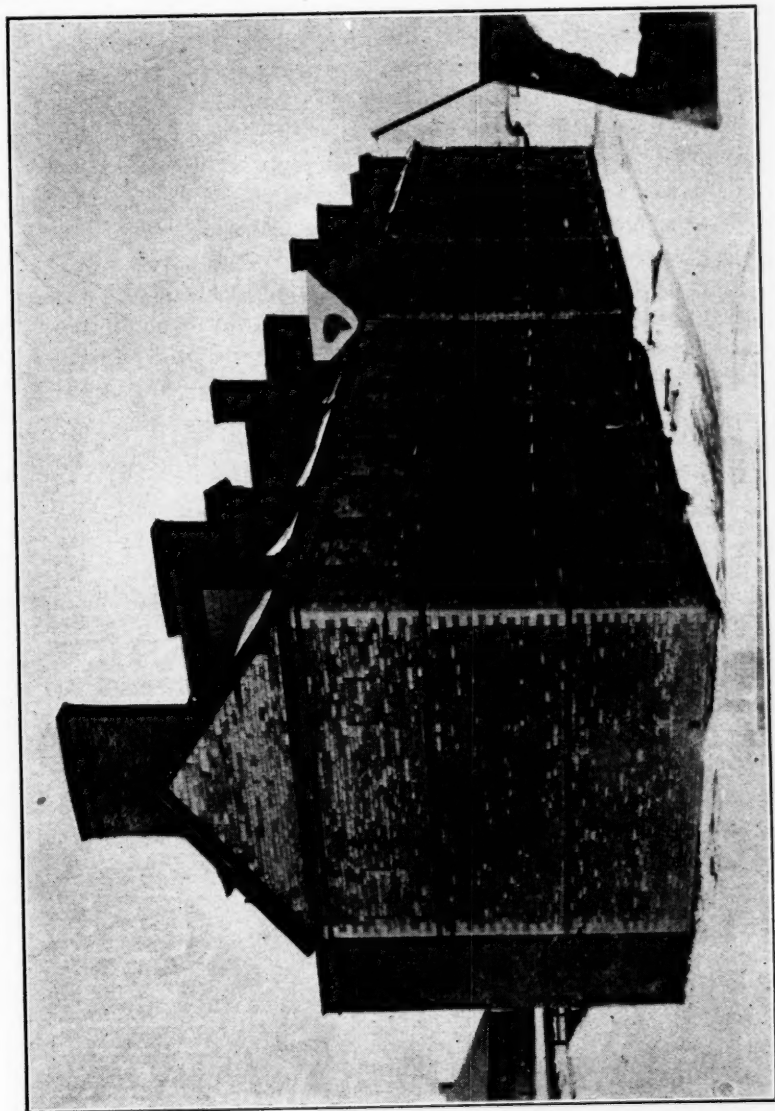
Of the various features of the fort the bastions and their functions will probably first attract interest and inquiry from the average visitor since examples of these are now rarely to be seen in the few remaining constructions of this character. These have sometimes been explained as for "flank defense," but this explanation is inadequate and to some extent misleading. A bastion may be compared to a bay window, without roof, at the corner of a square house. Such a window would enable the inmates to see and if need be to shoot over a much wider horizontal angle than one could do if the house had only

straight walls and ordinary windows. In particular the man in the house could see and fight off any outsider who might try by a rush to find refuge at the immediate base of the house wall and there to do damage, as by use of fire or explosives. Now take the plan of the old fort and try to pick out a spot in the ditch at the foot of the scarp wall where your "flanks" would not be exposed to fire from a man inside posted at the top of the wall—and you will clearly understand the functions of the bastion plan. In other words the bastions are not so much for defending the flanks of the fort inside, but rather to permit effective flank attack on the enemy.

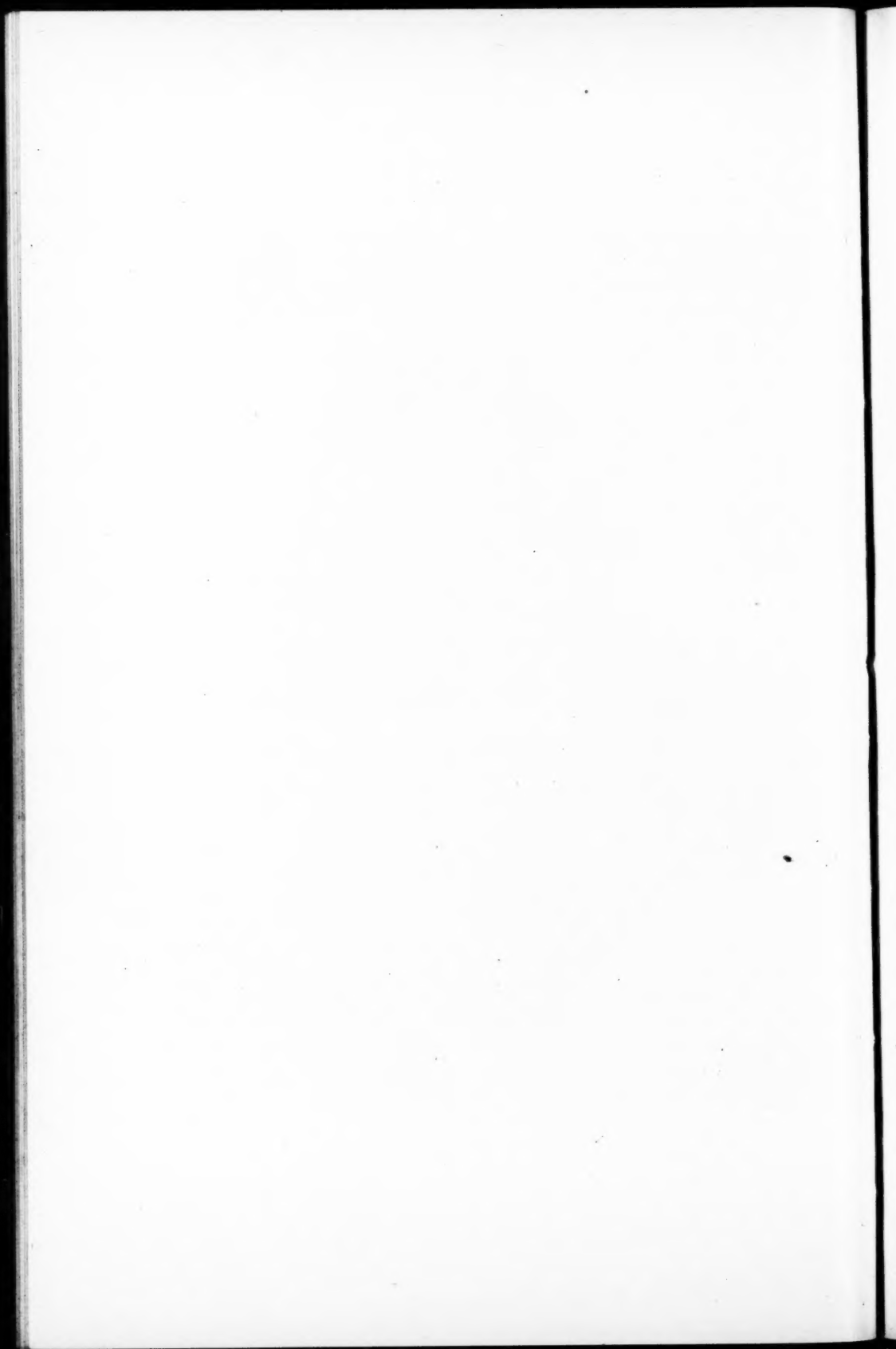
The outer wall of the demi-lune is defensible from the main parapet on the same principles.

When work began on the construction of Fort Wayne the entire population of Detroit was less than 20,000 and the census returns of that period show that this meager population of the largest city in Michigan was composed largely of people of foreign birth and that a large percentage of them was made up either of British citizens or British sympathizers. No extensive garrisons of regular troops have ever been maintained at Fort Wayne, but for many years it has been a depot where military supplies, arms, and equipment have found a safe and convenient place for storage.

At the time that Fort Wayne was first located it was far outside the city limits. Tradition says that the site of Fort Wayne was utilized as a place of mobilization of troops for the Black Hawk war and it was from this point that those troops departed to march over the newly constructed Chicago Turnpike, now U. S. 112, to Niles, Michigan, where an attack from the Indians was feared. The site of the fort was made conspicuous at a very early date by the largest prehistoric Indian mound ever discovered within the boundaries of Michigan and there remains today a small mound on the reservation in front of Officers' Row. During the Civil War great activity prevailed at Fort Wayne, for it was here that several of the Michigan Volunteer Regiments mobilized and received their first training before departing for the theatre of action.



ORIGINAL BARRACKS, FORT WAYNE  
Photograph by American Historic Buildings Survey



During the World War it was occupied as headquarters for the 433d Motor Supply Train, the 430th Troop Transport Train, and various other construction companies, labor companies, a motorcycle company, and an aero squadron. Within the last two years the parade grounds of the fort were practically covered at times by the tents of the C. C. C. units that underwent initial processing there before going on for further training and preparation at Camp Custer, and thence to their respective permanent camps.

The Adjutant General of the Army has supplied for insertion in this paper the list of Commanding Officers of Fort Wayne from the date it was first garrisoned to the present time and a list of the various units or organizations that have been stationed there as follows:

COMMANDING OFFICERS	DATE ASSUMED COMMAND
Capt. Alfred Gibbs, 3d Cav.	Dec. 15, 1861
Capt. Charles C. Churchill	Dec. 10, 1862
Capt. Lewis Wilson, 19th Inf.	Apr. 1862
Maj. Pinkney Lugenbeel	Mar. 7, 1864
Lt. Col. Del Floyd Jones, 19th Inf.	Mar. 31, 1865
Col. Silas Casey, 4th Inf.	Oct. 13, 1865
Maj. M. D. Hardin, 43d Inf.	Apr. 6, 1867
Lt. Col. J. B. Kidoo, 43d Inf.	May 9, 1867
Col. John C. Robinson, 43d Inf.	May 1, 1868
Capt. I. D. DeRussy, 1st Inf.	June 28, 1870
Lt. Col. P. Lugenbeel, 1st Inf.	June 30, 1870
Capt. I. D. DeRussy	Sept. 5, 1870
Lt. Col. P. Lugenbeel	Jan. 5, 1871
Capt. R. H. Offley, 1st Inf.	Sept. 17, 1872
Lt. Col. P. Lugenbeel	Feb. 9, 1873
Capt. Charles A. Webb, 22d Inf.	July 1, 1874
Col. D. S. Stanley, 22d Inf.	July 10, 1874
Capt. J. B. Irvine, 22d Inf.	May 29, 1876
Col. D. S. Stanley	Aug. 12, 1876
Capt. J. B. Irvine	Sept. 28, 1876
Lt. Col. Elwell S. Otis, 22d Inf.	May 16, 1877
1st Lt. O. M. Smith, 22d Inf.	Mar. 20, 1879
Col. H. B. Clitz, 10th Inf.	May 27, 1879
Col. Henry M. Black, 23d Inf.	June 18, 1884
Col. C. H. Smith, 19th Inf.	May 13, 1890
Capt. E. H. Liscum, 19th Inf.	Oct. 31, 1891
Lt. Col. C. A. Wilkoff, 19th Inf.	Nov. 23, 1891
Col. Simon Snyder, 19th Inf.	Dec. 20, 1892
1st Lt. S. A. Smoke, 19th Inf.	Apr. 19, 1898
Maj. A. W. Corliss, 7th Inf.	Oct. 14, 1898
Col. E. M. Coates, 7th Inf.	Dec. 1, 1898

Maj. J. T. Van Orsdale, 7th Inf.	Jan. 30, 1900
Lt. Col. Wm. E. Dougherty, 7th Inf.	Feb. 28, 1900
Maj. L. A. Matile, 14th Inf.	May 21, 1900
Capt. George H. Patten, 14th Inf.	Apr. 3, 1901
Maj. Charles McClure, 14th Inf.	Oct. 2, 1901
Col. Stephen J. Jocelyn, 14th Inf.	June 17, 1902
Maj. Wm. T. Wood, 20th Inf.	Feb. 18, 1903
Col. W. T. Duggan, 1st Inf.	May 12, 1903
Capt. C. E. Tayman, 1st Inf.	May 22, 1905
Capt. M. T. Swaine, 1st Inf.	June 12, 1905
Capt. Guy H. B. Smith, 4th Inf.	Jan. 30, 1906
Capt. Andre W. Brewster, 4th Inf.	May 25, 1906
2nd Lt. J. G. McElroy, 9th Inf.	Aug. 11, 1906
Col. Daniel Cornman, 7th Inf.	Oct. 9, 1906
Maj. James A. Goodin, 7th Inf.	Dec. 20, 1908
Capt. Alex J. McNab, Jr., 27th Inf.	Apr. 30, 1909
Col. Charles A. Booth, 26th Inf.	July 22, 1909
1st Lt. L. M. Purcell, 26th Inf.	Aug. 8, 1912
Lt. Col. Wm. H. Johnston, 26th Inf.	Sept. 24, 1912
Col. Robert L. Bullard, 26th Inf.	Oct. 5, 1912
Capt. Harry D. Blaslan, Q.M.C.	Feb. 1, 1913
2nd Lt. Charles L. Stevenson, 15th Cav.	Apr. 9, 1913
2nd Lt. Edgar W. Taulbee, 12th Cav.	Dec. 27, 1913
Capt. L. S. D. Rucker, Jr., U. S. A., Ret.	Sept. 23, 1914
1st Lt. M. C. Richards, U. S. A., Ret.	Sept. 21, 1915
Maj. George E. Nelson, S. C.	Oct. 27, 1917
1st Lt. Henry P. McKeen, S. C. A. S., R. C.	July 31, 1918
Maj. Howard L. Champion, A. S., U. S. A.	Aug. 26, 1918
Lt. Col. Louis A. Kunzig, M. T. C.	Feb. 6, 1919
Maj. Dean Halford, (Inf.) Q.M.C.	July 17, 1920
Col. Henry E. Eames, 37th Inf.	Oct. 28, 1920
Capt. Paul J. McDonnell, 37th Inf.	May 1, 1922
Lt. Col. Wm. T. Merry, 2nd Inf.	Aug. 28, 1922
Col. Henry E. Eames	Oct. 1922
Lt. Col. Merry	Feb. 18, 1923
Capt. McDonnell	May 21, 1923
Lt. Col. James G. Hannah, 2nd Inf.	July 24, 1923
1st Lt. Robert W. Bourke, 2nd Inf.	June 28, 1926
Capt. John J. Bethurum, 2nd Inf.	July 31, 1926
Lt. Col. James G. Hannah, 2nd Inf.	Aug. 20, 1926
Maj. Max B. Garber	Jan. 25, 1927
Capt. Hubbard E. Dooley, 2nd Inf.	May 31, 1927
Capt. John R. Bailey, Q.M.C. (DOL.)	July 3, 1927
Capt. William J. Niederpruem, Inf. (DOL.)	Jan. 3, 1928
Capt. Dallas R. Alfonte, 2nd Inf.	Mar. 29, 1928
Lient. Colonel Otis R. Cole, 2nd Inf.	Oct. 10, 1928
Col. Frederik B. Shaw, 2nd Inf.	Apr. 25, 1929
Colonel Fredrik L. Knudsen, 2nd Inf.	Nov. 13, 1930
Lient. Col. Ebenezer G. Bueret, 2nd Inf.	May 15, 1931
Colonel Fredrick L. Knudsen, 2nd Inf.	Sept. 2, 1931
Capt. Ralph C. G. Nemo, 2nd Inf.	May 2, 1932
Major Arturo Moreno, 2nd Inf.	May 31, 1932
Colonel Russell C. Langdon, 2nd Inf.	Aug. 31, 1932
Colonel William C. Webb, F.A. (DOL.)	Apr. 14, 1933

Major Joseph J. Goffard, 2nd Inf.  
 Lieut. Colonel Robert M. Lyon, 2nd Inf.  
 Colonel Russell C. Langdon, 2nd Inf.  
 Captain Ralph Hall, 2nd Inf.  
 Major Arturo Moreno, 2nd Inf.  
 Colonel Robert M. Lyon, 2nd Inf.

Aug. 15, 1933  
 Nov. 6, 1933  
 Nov. 24, 1934  
 May 2, 1934  
 Sept. 6, 1934  
 Nov. 4, 1934  
 to date.

## GARRISONS OF FORT WAYNE, MICHIGAN

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Companies</i>	<i>Arrival</i>	<i>Departure</i>
3rd Cavalry.....	B, F.....	Dec. 15, 1861	Dec. 2, 1862
19th Infantry.....	Detachment.....	Dec. 2, 1862	Oct. 1865
1st Mich. Sharpshooters.....	B.....	July 20, 1863	Sept. 1863
1st Bn. Invalid Corps.....	30th, 106th.....	Oct. 24, 1863	Nov. 1863
19th Infantry.....	F & S Band.....	Mar. 18, 1864	Oct. 1865
	D, 1st Bn.....	Mar. 18, 1864	May 10, 1864
	A, 2nd Bn.....	Mar. 8, 1865	Apr. 1865
	B, 1st Bn.....	Apr. 18, 1865	May 1865
	A, 3rd Bn.....	May 6, 1865	June 23, 1865
30th Mich. Vols.....		Apr. 8, 1865	June 1865
4th Infantry.....	F & S Band H. K.....	Oct. 13, 1865	Apr. 2, 1867
4th Artillery.....	G.....	Dec. 10, 1865	May 27, 1871
17th Infantry.....	H, 2nd Bn.....	June 16, 1865	Sept. 11, 1866
43rd Inf., Vet. Corps.....	F & S, C.....	Apr. 6, 1867	Apr. 10, 1869
	B.....	Apr. 6, 1867	Aug. 20, 1867
	D.....	Apr. 6, 1867	May 8, 1867
	E.....	May 1867	June 19, 1874
	F—Organized.....	Aug. 20, 1867	Apr. 10, 1869
	H.....	Dec. 1867	Apr. 10, 1869
1st Infantry.....	Hq., H. S.....	Apr. 5, 1869	June 19, 1874
	D.....	Apr. 5, 1869	June 19, 1874
	F.....	Apr. 5, 1869	May 10, 1869
1st Infantry.....	H.....	Apr. 5, 1869	May 7, 1869
	I.....	Apr. 5, 1869	June 19, 1874
	K.....	Apr. 5, 1869	May 22, 1869
	A.....	May 7, 1869	June 12, 1874
	K.....	Sept. 3, 1870	May 27, 1871
	D, E.....	May 30, 1871	June 19, 1874
22 Infantry.....	D.....	July 1, 1874	May 15, 1876
	F, H.....	July 1, 1874	July 11, 1876
	A.....	May 20, 1876	Aug. 27, 1877
	D.....	June 25, 1877	Oct. 14, 1877
	C.....	July 26, 1877	Aug. 27, 1877
	E, F.....	Oct. 23, 1877	Oct. 29, 1877
	A, C, H.....	Oct. 26, 1877	Apr. 9, 1879
10th Infantry.....	E.....	May 10, 1879	June 9, 1884
	H, K.....	May 19, 1879	June 9, 1884
	Hq., Band, A.....	May 27, 1879	June 9, 1884
23rd Infantry.....	F, H.....	June 10, 1884	May 8, 1890
	F & S, Band, I.....	June 6, 1884	May 8, 1890
	G.....	June 20, 1884	May 8, 1890
19th Infantry.....	F & S, Band, I.....	May 12, 1890	Apr. 19, 1898



19th Infantry.....	G, H.....	May 12, 1890	Aug. 15, 1896
	A.....	May 12, 1890	Aug. 29, 1896
	E.....	Sept. 18, 1890	Aug. 29, 1896
	K.....	Aug. 26, 1890	Apr. 19, 1898
	B, C, D, F.....	Sept. 10, 1896	Apr. 19, 1898
No regiment.....	Detachments.....	Apr. 19, 1898	Oct. 16, 1898
7th Infantry.....	F & S. Band.....	Oct. 16, 1898	May 11, 1900
	F.....	Oct. 16, 1898	Jan. 6, 1899
	A.....	Oct. 16, 1898	Jan. 9, 1899
	E.....	Oct. 16, 1898	Jan. 14, 1899
	G.....	Oct. 16, 1898	Jan. 15, 1899
	B.....	Oct. 16, 1898	Jan. 29, 1899
	I.....	Oct. 16, 1898	Mar. 15, 1899
	C.....	Oct. 16, 1898	Apr. 9, 1899
	H.....	Oct. 16, 1898	May 11, 1900
	C.....	Jan. 12, 1900	May 11, 1900
14th Infantry.....	B, C, D.....	May 11, 1900	June 16, 1902
	Band.....	June 17, 1902	Feb. 18, 1903
	2d Bn.....	June 17, 1902	Feb. 13, 1903
20th Infantry.....	L, M.....	Feb. 16, 1903	May 13, 1903
1st Infantry.....	Hq., 2nd Bn.....	May 12, 1903	Jan. 30, 1906
4th Infantry.....	Hq., G, H.....	Jan. 29, 1906	Sept. 21, 1906
9th Infantry.....	B.....	May 25, 1906	Oct. 9, 1906
7th Infantry.....	(Hq., F & S Band)		
	(1st and 2nd Bns.)	Oct. 9, 1906	Apr. 30, 1909
27th Infantry.....	D.....	Apr. 29, 1909	July 22, 1909
26th Infantry.....	Hq., Band		
	1st and 3d Bns.....	July 22, 1909	Feb. 1913
No regiments.....	Detachments.....	Feb. 1913	
41st Infantry.....	F.....	Oct. 10, 1917	Apr. 9, 1918
Construction Cos., S. C.....	28, 29, 30.....	Apr. 27, 1918	July 1918
Labor Co's S. C.....	34, 35, 36.....	Apr. 27, 1918	July 1918
Recruit Squadrons.....	11 to 15, inclusive.....	Sept. 1918	to Nov. 1918
Recruit Squadrons.....	4 to 10, inclusive.....	Sept. 1918	to Jan. 1919
Recruit Squadrons.....	1 and 3.....	Nov. 1918	to Jan. 1919
Recruit Squadron.....	2nd.....	Nov. 1918	to Feb. 21, 1919
Hq. Motor Transport Corps.....		Feb. 1919	to June 1919
Det. 6th Signal Service Co.....		May 1920	to date.
The Chaplains' School.....		Sept. 4, 1922	to June 27, 1924
Construction Co's S. C.....	31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39.....	June 20, 1918	July 1918
607th Aero Sq.....		Jan. 8, 1918	Feb. 22, 1919
433d Motor Supply Train Hq. Co.....		Feb. 6, 1919	
	A.....	Feb. 1919	June 30, 1920
	B.....	Feb. 21, 1919	Feb. 28, 1919
	C.....	Feb. 1919	June 30, 1920
	D.....	Feb. 21, 1919	Mar. 25, 1919
	E.....	Feb. 21, 1919	Mar. 25, 1919
	F.....	Feb. 1919	Mar. 25, 1919

The lettered Cos. of 433d M. S. Train were transferred to Ft. Wayne, in Feb. 1919. With exception of Cos. A & C this transfer appears to have been only nominal, since they were on convoy duty, and were physically at Ft. Wayne only when



passing that way. Cos. B. D. E. and F, are not carried on the Train return rendered from Ft. Wayne subsequent to March 1919.

Co. B, 433d M. S. Tn. physically stationed at Ft. Wayne, Michigan, from June 10, 1919 to June 30, 1920.

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Companies</i>	<i>Arrival</i>	<i>Departure</i>
430th Troop Transport Train Hq. Co.		Feb. 22, 1919	May 3, 1919
	A.	Feb. 22, 1919	Feb. 25, 1919
	B.	Feb. 22, 1919	Feb. 26, 1919
	C.	June 9, 1919	June 30, 1919
	D.	Feb. 22, 1919	Feb. 27, 1919
	E.	Feb. 22, 1919	Feb. 27, 1919
	F.	Feb. 22, 1919	June 30, 1919
	Med., Det.	Feb. 22, 1919	Feb. 27, 1919

The entire 430th Tr. Transport Train apparently had nominal station at Ft. Wayne from Feb. 22, 1919 to June 30, 1919, but were absent on convoy duty from the last dates shown above until June 9, 1919. When the entire Train, less CO. F arrived at Fort Wayne and remained until demobilized June 30, 1919.

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Companies</i>	<i>Arrival</i>	<i>Departure</i>
Hq. Motor Transport Command	No. 14	Detachment only	
Hq. Motor Transport Command	No. 38	Dec. 1, 1919	June 30, 1920
Motor Transport Company	No. 21	Detachment only	
Motor Transport Company	No. 22	Detachment only	
Motor Transport Company	No. 62	Dec. 1, 1919	Feb. 29, 1920
Motor Transport Company	No. 63	Dec. 1, 1919	Feb. 29, 1920
Motor Transport Company	No. 150	Detachment only	
Motor Transport Company	No. 160	Detachment only	
Motor Transport Company	No. 161	Detachment only	
Motor Transport Company	No. 162	Detachment only	
Motor Transport Company	No. 164	Detachment only	
Motorcycle Co.	No. 7	Detachment only	
S. P. Unit	No. 490 from abr.	Apr. 1920	June 30, 1920
37th Infantry	Hq.	Oct. 17, 1920	Oct. 20, 1921
	Hq. Co.	Oct. 17, 1920	Oct. 20, 1921
	Service Co.	Oct. 18, 1920	Oct. 20, 1921
	Hq. 1st Bn.	June 1921	June 22, 1921
	Co. A.	Oct. 7, 1920	June 22, 1921
	B.	Oct. 6, 1920	June 22, 1921
	C.	Oct. 10, 1920	Nov. 15, 1920
	D.	June 22, 1921	Oct. 20, 1921
	Hq. 2d Bn.	June 1921	Oct. 20, 1921
	Co. E.	Oct. 17, 1920	Oct. 23, 1921
	F.	Oct. 17, 1921	Oct. 20, 1921
	G.	Oct. 17, 1921	Oct. 20, 1921
	H.	Oct. 17, 1921	Oct. 20, 1921

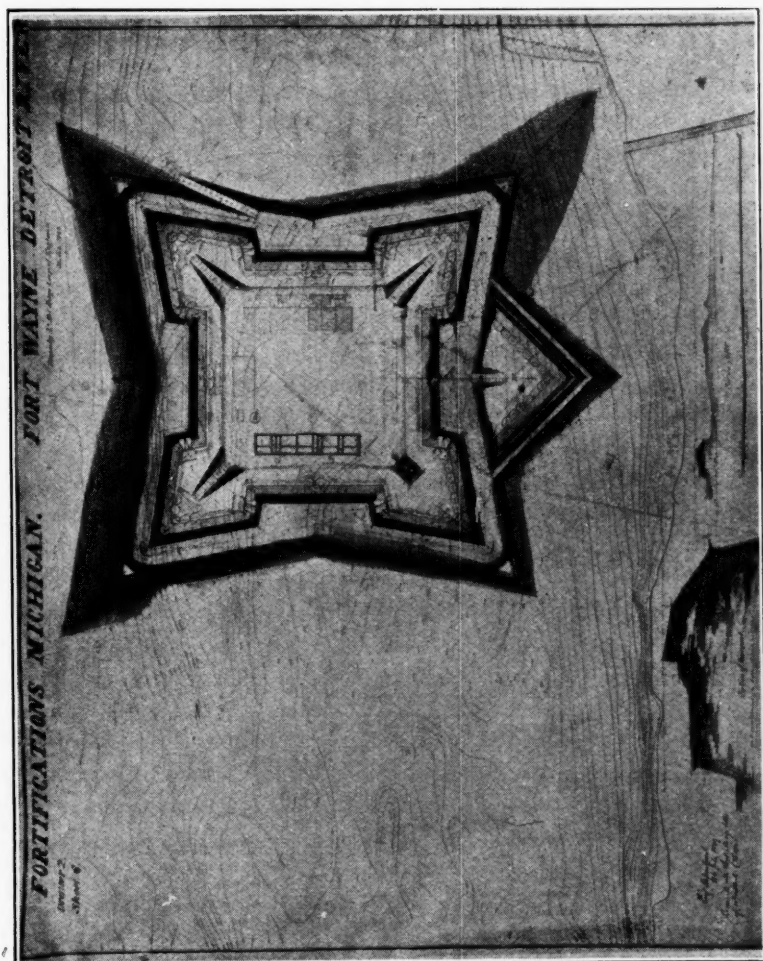
54th Infantry:	Hq.	Oct. 18, 1921	Oct. 24, 1922
	Hq.	Oct. 18, 1921	Oct. 24, 1922
	Service Co.	Oct. 18, 1921	Oct. 24, 1922
	Hq. 1st Bn.	Oct. 13, 1921	Oct. 24, 1922
	Co. A.	Oct. 13, 1921	Oct. 24, 1922
	B.	Oct. 13, 1921	Oct. 24, 1922
	C.	Oct. 13, 1921	Oct. 24, 1922
	D.	Oct. 13, 1921	Oct. 24, 1922
	Hq. 2d Bn.	Sept. 5, 1922	Oct. 24, 1922
	Co. G.	Sept. 5, 1922	Oct. 24, 1922
	G.	Sept. 5, 1922	Oct. 24, 1922
	Hq. 3d Bn.	Sept. 5, 1922	Oct. 24, 1922
2nd Infantry	Hq. 2d Bn & Co. E	Aug. 14, 1922 to date	
	Co. F.	Aug. 21, 1922 to date	
	Co. H.	Aug. 24, 1922 to date	
	Co. G.	Aug. 29, 1922 to date	

As originally constructed the scarp of Fort Wayne was revetted by logs of cedar and oak. The glacis remains today as originally constructed. The slope of its plane is such as to keep attacking forces under direct fire from guns mounted in the main work. The gray sandstone barrack building within the fort was built by Captain Meigs, and is still in a good state of preservation. The Historic American Building Survey, a bureau of the U. S. Department of the Interior, refers to it as perhaps the most interesting structure in this general vicinity.

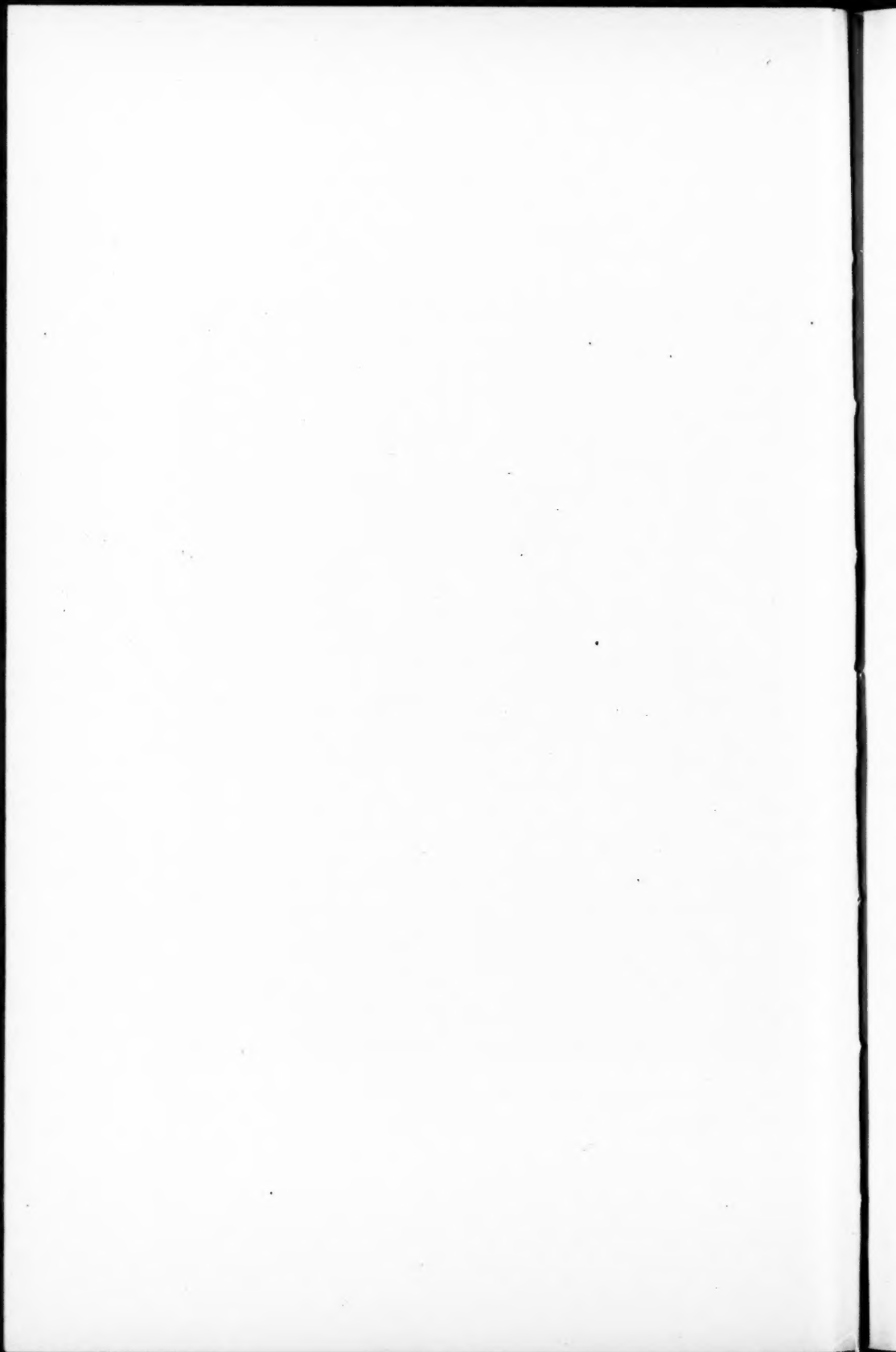
In 1863, with the Civil War then in progress, reconstruction work on the Fort began under charge of Lieut. Col. Thomas J. Cram, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army. Few changes were made in general plans of the work as first constructed, but the log revetments were replaced by brick backed by concrete, the ramps were paved with stone, outer gates of the posterns were supplied, and the gun emplacements were repaired. Colonel Cram also built the stone gateway opening on West Jefferson Avenue on which the insignia of the Corps of Engineers appears.

The total cost of land and buildings comprised in Fort Wayne is over \$4,000,000.00.

The question is often asked, "What do they *do* at Fort Wayne?", and there seems to be a quite general impression that troops stationed there lead a rather lazy life.



ORIGINAL PLAN OF FORT WAYNE, 1849  
Office Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army



To answer that question and to remove that more or less widespread impression some information concerning the army as a whole and of that post in particular may not be inappropriate.

The military policy of the United States contemplates the maintenance of a small and highly trained peace establishment consisting of the Regular Army, the National Guard and the Organized Reserves, all organized so as to provide the framework on which, in event of an emergency, the man power of the nation can be mobilized, trained, armed, equipped, and supplied for the nation's defense.

The Regular Army constitutes the permanent military force. Its maximum strength in peace times is limited first by the provisions of the National Defense Act of 1920 as amended and second by the appropriations which Congress makes for its maintenance. At present it consists of about 120,000 officers and enlisted men. Translated into terms which we can readily visualize and understand, the police force of the City of Detroit, considering the area and population that it protects, is about four times as great in relative number as the whole personnel of the Regular Army, though the Army polices and protects the entire United States and all of its colonial possessions.

The National Guard, which comprises military units of the various States, is armed and equipped in accordance with federal laws and regulations. It functions in two aspects. First, as constituting the organized militia of the several states to which its various units belong, and second, as a component of the army of the United States. The National Guard of any state may be called out by its governor in cases where its services are required to quell local disturbances and to maintain order within the state. It also may be called into the service of the United States when a national emergency may require it. The National Guard is supported very largely by federal appropriations and it is given federal supervision and instruction through officers of the regular army who are assigned to that duty.

The Organized Reserves include the Officers Reserve Corps, the enlisted reserve, and organized reserve units.

Officers of the Reserve Corps are required to carry on and complete courses of study pertaining to the military service through the medium of correspondence courses and unit schools in centers of population where groups of reserve officers can be gotten together readily for that purpose. Officers of the Reserve Corps in times of peace are required to serve on an active duty status for a period of 15 days each year if so required and they may serve for longer periods on an active duty status if they consent thereto.

The Officers Reserve Corps is designed to furnish a great body of commissioned officers that it would be necessary to have on short notice in case of a national emergency when the military forces of the nation are called upon to protect or defend its interests, and in such an emergency the consent of those officers to serve is not a prerequisite. They must respond on call.

At present there are approximately 100,000 reserve officers in the United States, commissioned in all branches of the service such as Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, Engineers, Air Service, Medical Corps, Quartermaster's Corps, Judge Advocate Generals' Division, etc.

The direction, training and control of these three components of the army of the United States are under the jurisdiction of the War Department, whose duty it is to provide for national defense. Specifically the army must provide an adequate, organized, balanced and effective mobile force which at all times shall be ready and available for emergencies within the continental limits of the United States or elsewhere.

The army must be prepared to patrol the thousands of miles of border between the United States and foreign countries; it provides defense for our coast and overseas possessions. To that end garrisons are stationed at points along the borders of the United States, and at some points inland, and in Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines, Panama, Porto Rico, and China, both

as a safeguard for our citizens and as protection for the commercial and political interests of the nation.

The task of keeping the Army fit and always ready for service is a large one. The term of enlistment for soldiers and non-commissioned officers is three years. That results in 60,000 or more enlisted men leaving the Army every year as their terms of enlistment expire, and an equal number of recruits, for the most part wholly unacquainted with the duty of the soldier, taking their places, thereby entailing the labor and time necessary to train them in their duties. To accomplish this requires a high and efficient system of instruction. It embodies physical training to develop their bodily power, endurance and resistance to disease, drill regulations, marching, care of equipment, first aid, customs of the service, etc. Soldiers must not only be instructed individually but must be drilled in team work in order to make their services efficient and valuable. Much of the soldier's training is of a technical nature, for the demands of a modern Army require that it be in a broad sense a body of specialists. The soldier of today, besides knowing how to care for and use a rifle for instance, must be more or less of a skilled technical worker as well, and if a man enlists in the Regular Army with no technical knowledge, he is sure to emerge from his period of enlistment a more physically fit, better informed and capable man, with a working knowledge at least of some trade or occupation that will make him a more useful citizen in civil life.

The instruction of the enlisted men must be conducted or supervised by the commissioned officers and they in turn are not only required to be and keep themselves physically fit, but they must attend schools and take courses of training provided for the special branch of the service to which they belong in order to keep themselves up to the mark in scientific and military knowledge which their profession under modern conditions requires them to possess.

The training of the enlisted men in their military and technical duties, the instruction of reserve officers and the study



which the commissioned officers themselves must undertake, all in accordance with the general plan for training of the army as above outlined, keeps the garrison at Fort Wayne busily occupied. In addition to the duties which are regularly and continuously carried on at the Fort itself, the entire garrison, with the exception of a care taking detachment, spends the greater part of each summer at Camp Custer, Michigan, instructing students of the Reserve Officers Training Corps and the several hundred young men who from year to year compose the Citizens Military Training Camp.

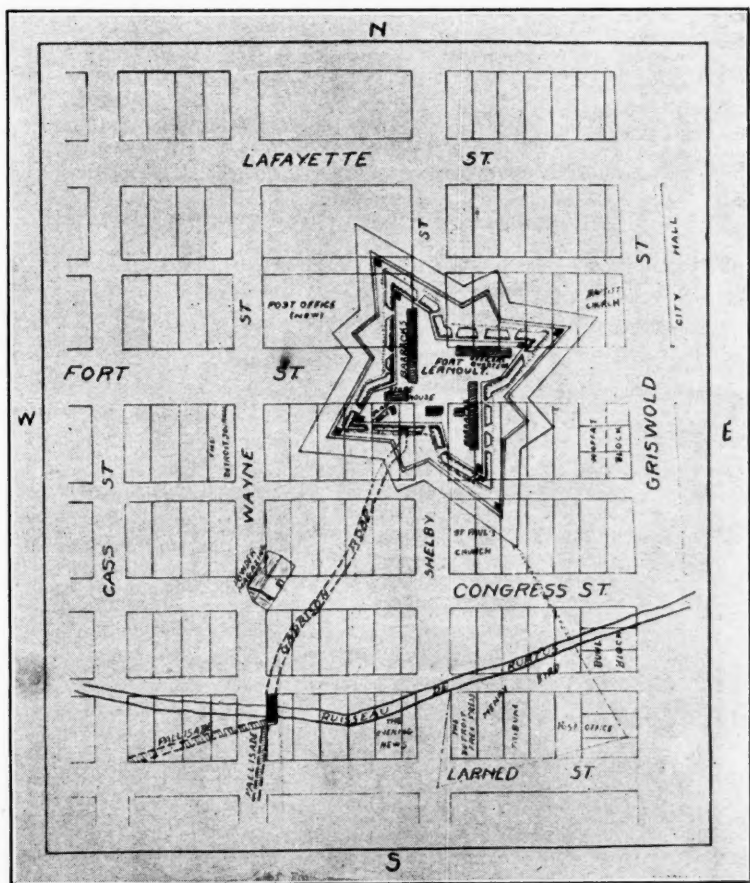
The present garrison at Fort Wayne comprises the headquarters and the second battalion of the Second United States Infantry together with detachments of the Signal Corps, Finance Department, Medical Department, Ordnance Corps, and Quartermaster Corps.

The commissioned officers who are stationed at the Fort are:

Colonel Robert M. Lyon, Second U. S. Infantry, Commanding.  
Lt. Col. Charles W. Dyer, 2d Infantry,  
Lt. Col. Arturo Moreno, 2d Infantry,  
Major Harrison W. Stuckey, Medical Corps,  
Major Crosby N. Elliott, Quartermaster Corps,  
Major William A. Ellis, 2d Infantry,  
Major George S. Wear, 2d Infantry,  
Major John H. Baxter, 2d Infantry,  
Major Charles H. Wilson, Infantry, DOL (ROTC Detroit High Schools),  
Major Arthur Floyd, 2d Infantry,  
Captain Paul T. Hogge, 2d Infantry,  
Captain Milton A. Hill, 2d Infantry,  
Captain Stuart A. Cameron, Medical Corps,  
Captain Hal C. Bush, 2d Infantry,  
Captain Irvin A. Robinson, 2d Infantry,  
Captain Paul C. Serff, 2d Infantry,  
Captain Walter S. Strange, 2d Infantry,  
1st Lt. Jonathan D. Hawkins, 2d Infantry,  
1st Lt. George E. Bush, 2d Infantry,  
1st Lt. Samuel A. Daniel, 2d Infantry,  
1st Lt. Eldon F. Ziegler, 2d Infantry,  
1st Lt. Wilfred J. Lavigne, 2d Infantry,  
2d Lt. Harry W. Sweeting, Jr., 2d Infantry,  
2d Lt. John R. Kimmell, Jr., 2d Infantry.

#### RESERVE OFFICERS

1st Lt. Howard B. Appleman, Medical Corps-Reserve,  
1st Lt. Harrie J. Glenn, Dental-Reserve,



PLAN OF FORT LENOIX SUPERIMPOSED ON PORTION OF PRESENT  
PLAN OF DETROIT.

From Map Burton Historical Collection

7

## WARRANT OFFICERS

Warrant Officer Frank L. Carter, QMC,  
 Warrant Officer Gregorio Trapolino, Band, 2d Infantry,  
 Warrant Officer Andrew Albanese, QMC.

## NAVAL OFFICERS ATTACHED

Lieut. (JG) Andrew Galloway, Medical Corps, USN.

The total strength of the garrison is 483.

The Second Infantry deserves a word of special mention.

This regiment is nearly as old as the United States itself, having been organized pursuant to an Act of Congress approved March 3, 1791. It has had continuous active service since that time in all parts of the United States and in its colonial possessions.

The official Army Register notes the following battle honors which the regiment has earned:

## WAR OF 1812.

Canada	Lundy's Lane
Chippewa	Alabama, 1814.

## INDIAN WARS.

Miami	Nez Perces
Seminoles	Bannocks
California, 1850, 1851, 1852.	Pine Ridge

## MEXICAN WAR.

Vera Cruz	Churubusco
Cerro Gordo	Molina Del Rey
Contreras	Chapultepec

## CIVIL WAR.

Bull Run	Murfreesboro
Missouri, 1861	Chancellorsville
Peninsula	Tennessee
Shiloh	Georgia, 1864
Manassas	Wilderness
Antietam	Spotsylvania
Virginia, 1862, 1863.	Atlanta
Kentucky, 1862	Cold Harbor
Fredericksburg	Petersburg

## SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

Santiago

Philippine Insurrection.

FORT WAYNE IS AN UNUSUAL HISTORIC NATIONAL  
MONUMENT THAT SHOULD BE PRESERVED.

We have said that it speaks to us. When we cross the moat that surrounds it and stand upon its parapet, in fancy we can hear it say,

"I am proud to remember those young officers of the Corps of Engineers, Captain Meigs and Lieutenant Newton, who came here nearly one hundred years ago, and with transit, level and chain determined the outlines and superintended the construction of this as a permanent defensive work. I am glad to recall that both of those officers afterward attained the rank of Brevet Major General; that Meigs became the Quartermaster General and Newton the Chief of Engineers of the Army, each with the permanent rank of Brigadier General.

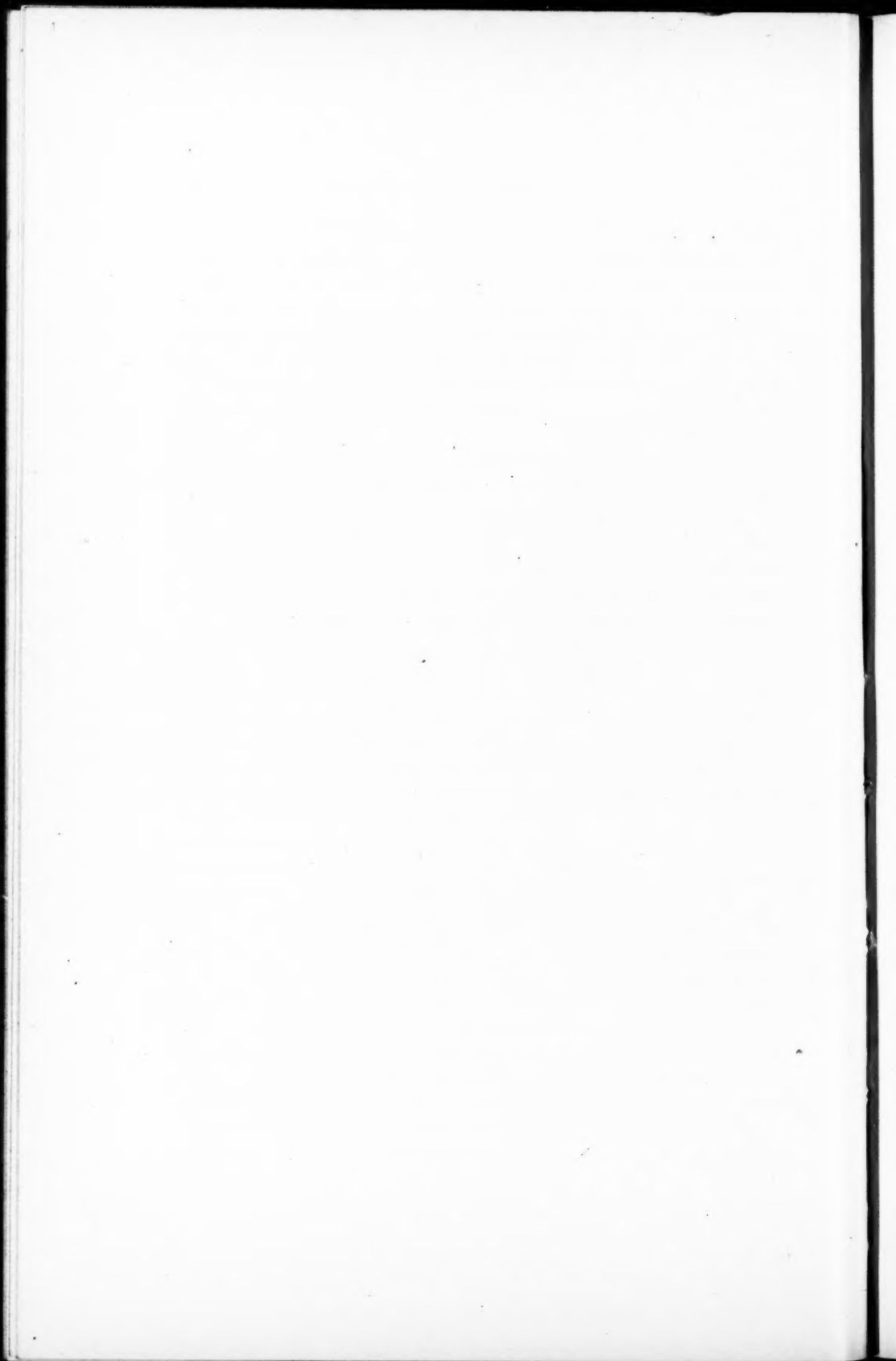
"I take pride in the fact that my name helps to perpetuate the memory of Major General Anthony Wayne, a contemporary of Washington, the hero of Stony Point and of Fallen Timbers, and the man who negotiated with the Indians the Treaty of Greenville which insured safety and peace in this region after many years of continual apprehension and danger.

"To repeat the names of the long list of officers and men who have served within these ramparts is to call the roll of legions of patriotic Americans whose greatest interest in life always has been "The Service." Every morning for three quarters of a century I have been awakened and have been given inspiration for the duties of the new day by the cheerful sound of reveille, and every night for that long period of time I have retired to rest with the soft wailing notes of taps ringing in my ears. Here, in this great center of population, with quiet dignity, I represent the Government. Every day of my existence the Flag has flown above my ramparts. I have never failed to sound the National salute on the birthdays of my country, nor have I failed, since Memorial Day was established, to

render on each of those anniversaries my tribute to the memory of our soldier dead. Though my scarps and parapets bear evidence of wounds inflicted by the hand of Time, they never have been and I trust they never will be stained by the blood of armed conflict. I welcome the proximity of the lofty structures of peacetime victories which surround me and I am happy in the privilege of reviewing the commercial navies of the civilized world which sail by me on the Detroit River in never ending columns.

"Thus far I have stood and I trust that I shall ever be permitted to stand as an emblem of patriotism and a monument to the development, the strength, and the permanence of our government. I hope that henceforth and always the officers and men of the Army whom I may shelter will continue to find here, as they have in the past, the best expression of their spirit of service and loyalty in these three words:

DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY!"





## ADDRESS OF THE HON. GEORGE A. SCHROEDER

Speaker, House of Representatives, at the Dedication Ceremony of the Ezra Convis Memorial, Michigan Centennial Celebration, Battle Creek, Michigan,

October 4, 1935, 4:00 P. M.

**I**T is with a sense of reverence and deep consciousness of the honor done me that I participate today in the dedication of this highly-deserved and beautiful monument to my predecessor of one hundred years ago, General Ezra Convis, first Speaker of the Michigan House of Representatives.

Where I today covered the distance from Detroit to Battle Creek over more than one hundred miles of paved road through well-settled land and vigorous cities and towns, passing from an industrial city inconceivable a century ago through a city containing a great state university, through fields from which the virgin forest disappeared decades ago, to come finally to this beautiful, modern school house to stand beside this proud stone of Michigan granite, Ezra Convis, more than a century ago, came as a pioneer to establish a town. He had the vast conceptions of the men who conquer wildernesses. He, in all likelihood, thought less of building a town than one of us would of investing in a building lot. Those were days of unlimited borders, of unexplored continents. The spirit of that time as compared to the spirit of ours differs as the quarrying of granite differs from its carving by the sculptor. In those days the duties of men were to explore the vast resources of virgin Michigan, to set up its statehood, to draft its constitution, to build its capitol, to incorporate its towns, to lay out highways for traffic and systems of communication, to construct its school system, to weld its people into a unit. Vast conceptions were necessary. Disregard of hardship, the performing of the impossible, were part and parcel of the character of every man who won his fellows' esteem in that day. That these were part of the character of Ezra Convis is beyond question. He was known as one of the first statesmen of his day.

He came to Michigan already a man with definite accomplishments behind him. He had risen to become commander of the militia of the State of New York and had achieved the rank of General, having shown indisputable military genius and a marked ability to lead his fellows. It was no strange matter in those days for men to show diverse gifts, but in that day no more than in any day was it common for a man to rise to distinguished leadership in widely diverse fields.

General Convis brought his family to Calhoun County, to this very vicinity, in 1834. He owned at one time most of the site of Battle Creek. That he loved the hills and fields and rivers of this section is apparent in his choice of them as his home. That he was a man of civic consciousness is well established. But, not content with a splendid military, pioneering and civic record, he turned his attention to wider fields, to the building of a state.

The depth of his influence is inestimable. He participated in the drafting of the Constitution of 1835 which was the fundamental law of our great state for fifteen years and on the basis of which our subsequent constitutions of 1850 and 1909 were drawn.

I like to picture the scene at Detroit in the year 1835 where from May 11 to June 24 ninety-one of the first fathers of our state, chosen to represent the then sixteen districts of Michigan, which at that time boasted a population of 87,000 people, carved out of the wilderness of the Northwest Territory the State of Michigan. Ezra Convis was one of those men entrusted with the destiny of the infant state, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1835. They must, each of them, after the long hours of deliberation, debate and consideration, holding as do all men individual views—and, in their cases, the strong views of strong men—have pondered the effect on unborn generations of the language they were daily creating into the proposed fundamental law.

They knew that the product of their thought was to go before

the people for rejection or ratification. They were, beyond doubt, a serious and devout group who must many times have prayed, severally and individually, for assistance in their task. It is with a sense of peculiarly personal reverence that I reflect that Ezra Convis one hundred years ago in my home city of Detroit, then a village of muddy streets and frame buildings, four months before he was to be honored by his county with election to the legislature, helped to frame the provisions governing the legislature as it was to exist in 1835 and as it exists today. It is strange and interesting to me that that former Speaker of the House of Representatives moved on the same ground, preoccupied with problems of state, that I, in my humble, vastly less important way, occupying the same office, have moved.

Where today, in an infinitely more involved social and economic world, such questions as delinquent taxes, control of the sale of liquor, care of the hordes of unemployed, rights of street railways, regulation of motor vehicle traffic, artificial gas companies, natural gas development, prosecution and rehabilitation of criminals—all of these questions arising from the close-packed, interdependent nature of our population—engage our minds, in General Convis' day men unable to foresee or imagine our complex structure laid down the fundamental law on questions of much vaster, if no more perplexing, scope.

They decreed that "all political power is inherent in the people", these sons of the generation who fought the American Revolutionary War to free the thirteen original colonies from a tyrant. They defined and forbade "exclusive privilege". They stipulated that freedom of religion, of speech and of the press should be inalienable rights in the state they were creating. They drew the broad outlines of our jury system; gave citizens the right to bear arms; set up indestructible rights of contract and of property. They forbade search and seizure without strict and proper warrant. They settled the qualifications of electors and the manner of elections. They forever prohibited slavery in the State of Michigan. They set up a

perpetual fund for the support of schools and made provision for a state university. They forbade lotteries.

They then turned their attention to setting up the legislature which was to specifically define and regulate all matters not touched on or only broadly provided for in the Constitution. In actual fact they limited the legislature in very few directions. Their concept of government was based on that of the then United States, a tri-partite government with an executive division to administer the laws, a judicial division to determine the rights of citizens involved in dispute, and a legislature, directly elected by the people to represent that people's views. The representative and senator of each district they saw as the backbone of the democracy they were setting up. Terms of legislators were brief; in the first fifteen years of our history representatives' terms were for but one year; senators' for two years. The desire of these first fathers was to give the people a ready remedy if a legislator failed to represent them truly.

In our day, complicated by the speed at which we live due to the great advance in facilities for inter-communication, many citizens have lost sight of the fact of their legislators' duty to them. Time and again there have come to the Capitol at Lansing men elected by a careless constituency. Where the fault lies it is not my purpose to discuss, but that the framers of our first state Constitution saw the importance of electing able representatives there can be no doubt.

October 5, 1835 must have been to General Ezra Convis a day of profound gratification, for on that day the people of the territory desiring to become the State of Michigan ratified the Constitution in the writing of which he had taken so notable a part; and also on that day the appreciative citizens of Calhoun County elected Ezra Convis to the House of Representatives, one of fifty men so honored in the State. It must have been a deep satisfaction to have been given the opportunity to proceed to the amplifying and less rigid statutory law after participating in creating the basic law.

General Convis apparently stood out among his fellows in that distinguished group as he had in larger ones, for his colleagues promptly proceeded to elect him Speaker of the Michigan House of Representatives. Improper as is any comparison between a statesman of his splendid caliber and myself, nevertheless it has been my treasured privilege to have had accorded to me the same honor as General Convis. A century has intervened between the dates of our elections as Speaker, but I am sure our appreciation of that honor bears similarities. Many of my colleagues are here today. It is no more possible for me now to word my appreciation of their utter kindness to me than it was on the second day of January, 1935 when their vote for Speaker was recorded, but in the course of my life so far and in its course to the end I expect to treasure no dearer moment, and I hope I shall be pardoned if I make a purely personal digression to again thank them. It is also fitting to say at this time that, regardless of political affiliations—and the truly representative legislator does not carry his political affiliations into his consideration of the needs and wishes of the people—the members of this House have consistently cooperated to excellent and mutually gratifying ends.

An interesting controversy arose over the acts of that first legislature. It held four sessions between November, 1835 and January, 1837 when Congress passed the Act admitting Michigan to the Union. In all its deliberations it considered itself and referred to itself as the state legislature. In 1843 a case was referred to the Michigan Supreme Court involving the corporate status of the Detroit Young Men's Society, the point of the case being that Michigan had not become a state prior to the Act of Congress in 1837 and therefore its legislative body did not have legal right to incorporate that Society. The State's attorneys argued that the Ordinance of 1787 provided that any section of the Northwest Territory, upon acquiring a population of not less than 60,000 and upon determining by popular vote that it desired to set up as a state, might do so. The members of the Court were convinced that

both these conditions had been fulfilled and that Michigan became a state in 1835, and the delay of the Act of Congress moved the Court not at all. The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court. That august body, stating that it had no jurisdiction over cases submitted from a state prior to its undisputed admission to the Union, referred the case back to the Michigan Supreme Court which in turn handed down a decision declaring valid all acts of the Michigan legislature from its first session in November of 1835 on.

I have been impressed, in my research on the life of Ezra Convis, by the fundamental similarity of American governing bodies of widely various times. Prior to the 1835 legislature the Territory of Michigan was governed by a body called the Legislative Council. The territorial governors submitted eighteen names to Congress; Congress selected nine from this number, and these nine were for the territory what the legislature is to the state.

In 1933 the Hon. Martin R. Bradley, then Speaker of the Michigan House, conceived the idea of a body of legislators which should do its work between sessions and recommend a program for enactment by the legislature. He was in his fifth term as a representative and he felt that time, money and the people's patience could be saved by the presentation of a program drafted by legislators into a coherent unity prior to the opening of any given session. He was certain, also, that better statutes would result. This idea had been maturing in his mind throughout four terms in the House when he sat as a member of a distinct minority, sometimes as the only member of that minority. A startling change in the Michigan political scene raised this quiet statesman from a modest member of a minority of two to the Speakership of the House and the leadership of the majority party. He was enabled to bring his idea to fruition, and he called this new governmental device the Legislative Council.

What very particularly interested me was a remark of Speaker Bradley to the effect that until the Act creating the



Council was being drawn he did not remember that the territorial legislatures bore precisely the same designation as he had determined upon for the Legislative Council and that the two bodies, one hundred years separate in history, had astonishingly similar functions. That is to me an outstanding example of the soundness and instinctive similarity of American thought on governmental matters.

That first Legislative Council, of which Mr. Bradley was chairman, did some very notable work. The second Council, composed of members of the present legislature, is engaged in the study of the delinquent tax situation, of the liquor problem, of highway planning, of financing the educational system, and, ironically, of how to simplify the machinery of the state government which one hundred years ago did not exist. The creation, when necessity arose, of a Council to plan for the legislature as once a Council planned for the state adds to my conviction that though the passing of a century has brought new times, men and problems, the American, faithful throughout all changes to American tradition, will inevitably carve upon the granite quarried by his fathers a splendid and ineffaceable legend.

It is impossible to forecast to what further heights General Convis would have attained, although it is certain that he was destined to continuing greatness, but most unfortunately his life was cut short by a fatal accident in 1837. He appears to have been a man who took a fatherly interest in his colleagues. He had been to Detroit to attend the wedding of a representative, and during the course of his return to Battle Creek a blizzard came up, the way was lost, and his sleigh over-turned. Shortly thereafter General Convis died of his injuries.

Battle Creek and Michigan may well commemorate with pride the life and death of this statesman general, and it is a happy occasion of my own life which permits me the high honor of assisting in the dedication.

The actual work of arranging this ceremony, and the entertainment which is to follow, was done by the Hon. James G.



Frey, the able member from Calhoun, and Representatives Joseph Green, Fenlon, Watson and Stout. This beautiful stone was donated by the City of Battle Creek and was placed by the State Highway Department under the direction of Commissioner Murray D. Van Wagoner.

In a world troubled by every sort of chaos, as I look about me and discover in this group many men animated by the same high purpose and courage as General Convis, I cannot doubt that Americans, following American tradition, will emerge into serenity and will proceed steadily toward development.

In conclusion, may I add my personal thanks to those of the committee for the presence on this occasion of former Speakers Whelan, Campbell, Currie, Smith, Read (now Lieutenant Governor of the State of Michigan), Warner, Welsh, Ming and Bradley. And may I express my gratitude to the citizens of Battle Creek and Calhoun County for their splendid cooperation in this dedication ceremony.

## A MICHIGAN LANDMARK PASSES

BY RICHARD B. SCHOPBACH

KALAMAZOO

IN the spring of 1935, activity was evident once again on Seminary Hill in Kalamazoo. But it was not the gay laughter of the girls of the Michigan Female Seminary in their "hour of recreation," engaged in the strenuous sports of croquet, lawn tennis, cycling, and hiking. They have not filled the halls of the old school nor peopled its spacious and once beautifully-kept grounds since 1907, when the institution closed its doors. This time it was the sound of workmen busily tearing down the buildings, erected in 1867 and vacant for nearly thirty years. Many graduates of the institution are still living, but their daughters attend schools far different from old "Mount Holyoke," as the local seminary was popularly called. Ideals in education have changed a great deal in the past fifty years, and customs and ways of living still more so.

It was on December 9, 1856, that a meeting of delegates from various parts of the country, was held at the Old Presbyterian church in Kalamazoo, for the purpose of establishing a female seminary in that place. Many wives of civic leaders and men prominent in Michigan, were graduates of Mount Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts. This, together with the fact that the local institution was to be built and supported by Presbyterians (as was the eastern school), led naturally to the decision to emulate the Massachusetts seminary founded by Mary Lyon. The *Kalamazoo Gazette* of December 12, 1856, reported the following:

"The convention was called to order by the Rev. A. Bryant of Niles, the object was presented by the Rev. Mr. Huggins of this place.

"Addresses were made in behalf of the movement for an institute here by Mr. Slocum and Dr. Humphrey of Massachusetts, the Rev. Mr. Mead of Detroit and others. There seemed to be but one

opinion actuating the convention and that, the immediate carrying out of the proposed plans."

The following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That with gratitude to the Great Head of the Church, we learn that the citizens of Kalamazoo have taken steps to organize in that town a female seminary, modeled essentially after the Mount Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts and regarding it as an approved and Scriptural method for advancing the intellectual, moral and religious interests of the daughters of our land, we cordially recommend it to our churches and fellow citizens and would express the hope that other towns in the state may make similar efforts for the same objects."

Officials were selected for an organization, and the stockholders met on December 15. A corporation was formed and trustees were elected, of various religious denominations, not all being Presbyterians. The charter stated that the corporation was "for the purpose of founding and establishing a Female Seminary within the township of Kalamazoo," in pursuance of an "act to provide for the incorporation of Institutions of Learning" passed by the Legislature of Michigan and approved February 9, 1855.

Its objective was "to establish, endow and control a Seminary of learning for the education of young ladies in the higher branches of a thorough female education; having reference to the entire person,—physically, intellectually, morally and religiously considered, and to be essentially modelled after Mount Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts, and the Western Female Seminary at Oxford in the State of Ohio." The control of the institution was vested in a board of twenty-one trustees who were empowered to elect successors to themselves, each to hold office for a term of eight years. It was expressly provided, however, in Article 6, that "all elections of trustees shall be subjected to the ratification of the synod of Michigan or of such other synods as shall have jurisdiction within whose limits said seminary is located." This provision insured the permanent control of the institution by the Presbyterian Synod of Michigan.

The trustees purchased a tract of about thirty-two acres of land situated on the East side of the Kalamazoo River, at the intersection of Gull Road and Riverview Drive, as a site for the proposed seminary. It was considered to be unsurpassed and was described as "a fine, healthful and commanding location on the slopes of the uplands of the bluff, which here fall away gradually to the river valley below, and the grounds are made more beautiful and picturesque by a scattered growth of forest trees, mostly white oak." The building, according to the original plan, was to consist of an immense brick, three-story edifice, 219 by 140 feet in dimension, in the form of a Latin cross and to have basement and attic stories. The style was to be Norman and the building was to be "heated with steam, supplied with hot and cold water for bathing and other purposes, lighted with gas and to accommodate three hundred pupils and a corps of twenty teachers." The estimated cost was placed at \$100,000.

Largely through the efforts of the Rev. J. J. Slocum, sufficient funds were secured with which to build the school. Construction was begun in 1857 and the Kalamazoo Gazette on October 9, 1857, announced that the contract for the building had been let to James C. Prince of Chicago for \$67,889, the executive committee to furnish brick, stone, slating, and iron. (It is interesting to note that the committee furnished the bulk of the material except wood, which was cheap and abundant.)

This committee comprised J. J. Slocum, H. G. Wells, F. W. Curtenius, Hiram Arnold, and James Taylor. Plans of Bayles and Coleman, Chicago architects, called for a five-story building with a 220-foot front. This required 3,800,000 brick and 1,500,000 feet of lumber.

Elaborate plans were made for the laying of the cornerstone, October 27, 1857. Governor Kinsley S. Bingham had accepted an invitation to attend the ceremony and Zach Chandler was asked to come, but neither of these men reached the city. Bingham wrote later that he was summoned as a witness in court, just as he was starting for Kalamazoo.

"The exercises were opened by the Rev. J. J. Slocum, founder of the enterprise, who set forth the plans and purposes of the school," the Gazette said. "A hymn written for the occasion by Mrs. C. W. Hall was sung by the Kalamazoo Glee Club.

"The beautiful white marble block, weighing 2,500 pounds, donated by a stranger from Chicago, was swung into place by Charles E. Stuart. The program was closed by the Rev. Dr. Bittinger of Cleveland who spoke on the character of Mary Lyon as a Christian instructor of females."

Building operations proceeded slowly on account of the bad times and the War Between the States. In an article in the Gazette of January 8, 1858, the executive committee of the Seminary notifies "Mr. Prince, our builder, that we expect him during the coming season to complete the entire foundation of the building, which will require the laying of some 1,500 perch of stone; and also to lay 1,000,000 of brick. More we should like to do if it were not for the stringency of the times."

The walls of the building were erected in 1863 and the foundation walls of the wings were laid. In the spring of 1866, the Rev. John Covert was appointed to take charge of the work, and finish the interior of the building so that it might be used. The school was opened on the 30th day of January, 1867, with the following faculty: Miss Jeannette Fisher, principal; Miss Julia Esty, Miss Sarah A. Greer, Miss Laura E. Newhall, Miss Jane W. Smead, Miss Fanny O. Guernsey. Miss Fisher, her niece, Miss Greer, and Miss Smead were graduates of Mount Holyoke, Massachusetts. Miss Fisher remained until 1879, when she married Mr. E. Moore of Three Rivers and went to live at his estate, Moore Park, north of Three Rivers. She worked always with the welfare of the institution in mind. A former student has this to say of her:

"She was in every way, the finest, most high-minded woman I ever met. As an instance of her consecrated work and loyalty to the interests of the Seminary, she steadily refused to accept an increase to her salary which was but \$500. Her aim was to send out Christian, as well as educated, women as graduates, and there were few failures."

The course of instruction was similar to that of the modern high school, with the addition of music, art, and French; it was equivalent to that offered in the eastern finishing schools. The course was to occupy four years, and each year was divided into three terms. Board and tuition for the school year, extending from August 29 until July 3, was \$160. Daughters of Presbyterian ministers were admitted at a slightly lower rate. There were fifty-four pupils the first year and seventy-three in 1869. The study of Latin, the Bible, and Mental and Moral Science was emphasized.

Among the suggestions to prospective students were the following: "It is highly desirable that the girl's dress should be simple and in accordance with the laws of health," and "Dressmaking and dentistry should be done at home so as not to interfere with the school schedule." All students were required to take entrance examinations.

Life in the school was similar to that of a large family. The drawing room was called the "Home Parlor," and the catalog published the following concerning "Family Accommodations" and "Domestic Arrangements":

"All teachers and pupils board in the institution. . . . All the members of the school aid to some extent, in the domestic work of the family. The construction of the building and the family arrangements are such as to render it convenient and suitable for them to do this. The portion of time thus occupied is so short that progress in study is not retarded, but rather facilitated by the invigorating influence of this exercise."

Daily domestic duties included the kneading of seven loaves of bread, trimming and filling a certain number of oil lamps (gas was never used as originally planned, because up to the time electricity was installed, no way was known by which gas could be conveyed across the river from the west side, where it was manufactured), waiting on table, ringing the signal bell on the exact minute, and other tasks. The bell was a large iron triangle suspended from the ceiling of one of the halls, and of such a degree of resonance, that when struck with

an iron bar, its reverberations could be heard throughout the five-story building.

Steam radiators were not immediately installed and small, box-like stoves were in each room. They had flat tops on which water could be heated and candy made—surreptitiously! Sweets were prohibited and the catalog was specific concerning “extras.” “The seminary makes ample provision of excellent food, properly prepared and nicely served, so that parents and friends are requested not to send boxes of fruit and confectionery.”

A graduate of 1879 wrote concerning these rules in an article in the “Seminary Oak Leaves” (a literary publication) for March and April, 1896:

“The school was divided into ‘sections.’ Each section had a teacher, before whom we all appeared at a quarter before 9 o’clock every morning. The rules were read to us in their order and we reported any short comings on our part in keeping these rules. Our offenses were written down by the section teacher, and we were obliged to take them, with written explanations, to the principal, before they could be excused. Occasionally these offenses were never excused, and that misfortune took ten from one’s general standing. It would be impossible to give a list of the rules; they were many. The ‘Fire Laws,’ however, were limited to ‘Carrying coals except in the firepan,’ ‘Leaving matches out of the safe,’ ‘Filling lamps after dark.’ The weekly rules were: ‘Wardrobe out of order,’ ‘Account book not balanced.’ The account book we were obliged to balance once a week, even if it took ‘sundries’ to get the desired result. We reported on weekly rules every Saturday.”

Each girl was required to attend church every Sunday morning; either the Presbyterian (the girls filled half of the gallery in the old church at the corner of Rose and South Streets), or the Episcopal, if they preferred. They walked by twos, with a teacher as chaperone at the head of the procession and one at the rear. The catalog of 1889 carefully explained that “Students are not to make or receive calls on the Sabbath, nor are they expected to spend a Sunday away from the Seminary during term time.” The girls were required to rewrite



the sermons each Sunday afternoon, and to hand them in Monday morning. They were permitted to write letters home Sunday, if they wished. Chapel was held every day, and a "recess meeting" (an informal prayer meeting) was held each night. There was a general prayer meeting once each week and occasional missionary meetings. In addition, each girl observed the "Silent Hour," a half-hour of daily meditation spent alone in her room.

The schedule of the day was carefully planned. Rising bell at 7:00; 7:30, breakfast; 8:00, care of the room (airing the bed and putting things in order); 8:15, chapel; class periods from 8:30 to 12:30; lunch at 12:35, followed by 15 minutes of physical exercise; classes and study periods again until 4:00; out-of-door exercise at 4:15; dressing bell at 5:30; dinner at 6:00; study from 7:30 to 9:00; 9:15, each girl in her room; 9:30, lights out. Wednesday was the day of recreation.

Social life was not neglected. Receptions were held regularly, at which time the teachers received the pupils. Emphasis was laid upon the proper observance of etiquette, and the girls were taught the right way to enter and leave the room, and how to greet the hostesses and guests. Occasionally the trustees and their wives would be present at the receptions. On Friday evenings, "at the discretion of the principal," girls might receive callers whose names had been submitted by the parents or who had been "properly introduced." At the request of parents, pupils were allowed to call upon friends in the city on Saturday afternoon. Once a month, they might spend a night at home, if they desired.

Health and physical culture was attended to, as well as the cultural and intellectual aspects of the school life. The catalog for 1889 stated that "The commodious gymnasium is furnished with wands, rings, clubs, and dumb-bells, and is under the direction of a competent instructor." At the turn of the century, driving, cycling, croquet, lawn tennis, coasting, hiking, and golf were provided for. In the later years of the school,

basket ball was played. The school colors were blue and gold, and the school yell was:

Hobble Gobble!

Razzle Dazzle!

Sis, Boom, Bah!

Michigan Seminary

Rah! Rah! Rah!

The seminary was one the first three schools for women in the Middle West. The others were in Ohio; the Western Female Seminary at Oxford, and the school at Painesville. Students came not only from Michigan but from other states as well. For example, in 1870, the states represented by pupils in attendance included Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Kansas, Alabama, as well as Michigan.

In 1894, the oxford gown and mortar board were adopted as the regulation uniform. A preparatory department for younger girls was also added. From 1890, to the time of its closing, full two years' credit toward graduation was allowed for the work done in the Seminary by the University of Michigan.

As the school grew and the number of students increased, need was felt for additional space. In 1884, Willard Dodge of Kalamazoo gave \$40,000 to the Seminary as a nucleus for a building fund. In 1887, a temporary structure of wood was built which accommodated thirty-two pupils and had no recitation rooms.

In 1892, the temporary wooden structure was removed and Dodge Hall, a large, four-story structure with a tower containing a winding stairway, as well as a large reception room and several smaller parlors, was built. This constituted the south wing of the originally planned Latin cross. The foundations of the north wing, built many years before, were now filled in, and the original plan abandoned. The new building contained a large gymnasium and a bowling alley in the basement, besides additional recitation and living rooms. A large assembly room, the library and reading rooms, and the dining room were in the central building. Many improvements were

added in the following years. A Hale passenger elevator (operated by water pressure) was placed in the central building, and in 1897, electricity was installed. One girl, upon seeing the electric lights for the first time caused much merriment by saying that she could not "blow out the light" in her room.

Music came to be a specialty of the seminary, and extensively trained teachers, many having been educated in Europe, were engaged to teach harmony, vocal, and instrumental music. In 1900, the school owned fifteen pianos, all in constant use. Concerts were given at the school and in town by the students and occasionally by well-known artists.

The names of the principals and their years of service are: Miss Jeannette Fisher, 1867-1879; Miss Cornelia Eddy, 1879-1880; Miss H. Sprague, 1880-1885; Miss M. Hosford, 1885-1886; Miss A. Bryant, 1886-1887; Miss I. G. French, 1887-1892; Miss F. Robinson, 1892-1898; Miss E. Eastman, 1898-1901; Miss E. Hobson, 1901-1907. The Rev. John J. Gray, D. D., was president from 1899 to 1907, when the seminary closed.

From 1900, the enrollment had steadily declined. One reason for this was the increased tuition. In order to meet expenses, the tuition had been gradually increased from \$160 to \$250. In addition, transportation had been improved so that students could attend the Eastern schools more easily. Then, too, there was a large increase in the number of free public high schools, and the state normal had opened in Kalamazoo in 1904.

In 1887, the Presbyterians had taken over Alma College, a co-educational institution, and an increasing number of students were attracted there. The decisive blow came, however, in 1906, when the Presbyterian Synod withdrew its support from the seminary, directing all its funds to Alma College.

The fact that the local school had no endowment, together with the large indebtedness which had been allowed to accumulate during the final administration, caused the trustees at a

meeting held May 10, 1907, at the home of Mrs. Hannah Cornell in Kalamazoo, to close the school.

The property was offered to the College Board of the Presbyterian Church, if its debts were assumed, but the offer was declined on November 19, 1906.

Finally the grounds, buildings, and all the furnishings and equipment were sold to O. M. Allen, Sr., of Kalamazoo, for approximately \$35,000. The purchaser intended to utilize the property for educational purposes again, but his death occurred before anything came of his plans, and the buildings have never been used, save as tenement quarters, since.

The inevitable end arrived and invitations for a last reception were sent out to the alumnae which read:

"The Resident Alumnae of the Michigan Seminary Will Hold a Reception for Old Students on Tuesday, June 11th, From 4 to 7 O'clock. We Trust That Many Will Avail Themselves of This Last Opportunity and Return to the School."

Since then, there have been numerous meetings of the alumnae and on June 27, 1929, they erected and dedicated a tablet in memory of the school at the foot of the seminary hill.

## PAUL BUNYAN'S LAND AND THE FIRST SAWMILLS OF MICHIGAN

BY CARL ADDISON LEACH

DETROIT

**D**RIVING towards the Straits of Mackinac over rolling country, past blue lakes and sparkling trout streams, "The Sportsman's Paradise," and seeing on either side of the great highway aging pine stumps in the verdant shadows of the new forest, it is difficult to vision the storied past. Yet, these hills, streams, lakes, and country were host to another era, more rugged and remote, more vigorous and romantic, when "Pine was King" and "Paul Bunyan" made history.

While literature is yet to yield the legends and stories of the time, we nevertheless may get a glimpse of this vast realm and reconstruct for the mind's eye the scene of this domain unprecedented for natural grandeur, for magnitude, and for ideal setting. During the era of Michigan pine the lumber industry developed to unthought of proportions; came the evolution of the sawmill and many great innovations in lumbering methods; vast wealth was created, and a type of men unequalled for daring, physical hardihood, and aggressiveness, built the industry and left a romance and tradition that will live.

Facts and figures of this time are hard to visualize and fail to recreate for us a panoramic view of the period. Yet from news items of that day, the writing of eye witnesses, and descriptions by men who are yet alive, we are able to recreate the scene in some measure and get a glimpse of the world's greatest pinery.

"Michigan was once one of the greatest pine regions in the whole world.<sup>1</sup> Michigan's tribute to the nation has been enormous. For twenty years she was the leading lumber state of the union; as nearly as can be estimated her forests have yielded 160,000,000,000 feet of pine. These are figures which

<sup>1</sup>James Oliver Curwood, *The Great Lakes*, p. 57.

pass comprehension until they are translated into more familiar terms. This enormous production would build a board walk five feet wide, two inches thick, and three million miles long—a walk that would reach one hundred and twenty times around the earth at the equator; or it would make a plank way one mile wide and two inches thick that would stretch across the continent from New York to San Francisco; in other words, Michigan's total contribution of pine would build ten million six-room dwellings capable of housing over half the present population of the United States."

"It is said<sup>2</sup> that in the year 1888, enough lumber, over 4,000,000,000 feet, was sawed in the mills along the Saginaw River alone to make a sidewalk of two-inch planks, four feet wide, that would reach around the earth almost four times."

These figures are hard to see; their magnitude is incomprehensible. If we look behind these figures, however, behind this tremendous volume in production, we may visualize hundreds of logging camps, thousands of brawny lumberjacks, hundreds of heavy horses, big loads of logs, gigantic log jams, scores of humming sawmills, countless barges and sailing lumber schooners on the Great Lakes—all part of the industry. We can then appreciate in some measure what these figures mean and see the romance and conflict that attended the lumbering of pine in Michigan.

Again: "If the pieces comprising the log crop of Michigan for the year 1872 alone, were placed end to end, they would girdle the earth at its largest circumference, and leave a trifle of ten thousand miles to spare. This is computing the crop at twenty-two hundred and fifty million feet (2,250,000,000) and logs of sixteen feet to the thousand."<sup>3</sup>

"From a few hundred million feet of lumber cut in 1860, the business developed in ten years to an annual cut of two and a half billion feet of the value of more than thirty millions of dollars.

<sup>2</sup>Butterfield. *Bay County Past and Present*, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup>*Port Huron Daily Times*, April 13, 1872.



"The great period of Michigan lumbering days may have been from 1860 to 1880. During these years was begun and carried to consummation, without regard to conservation or the rights of future generations, the destruction of Michigan's white pine forests."<sup>4</sup>

"An army of woodmen denuded the northern counties of their wonderful pine forests at the rate of more than thirty thousand acres a year."<sup>5</sup>

Interesting and illuminating is the *Report of the Board of World's Fair Managers, 1899, of the Chicago Columbia Exposition, 1892-3*, in which Michigan forest products stood supreme:<sup>6</sup>

"Michigan was the great lumber state of the Union. Her famous white pine led all other soft woods, and brought the highest prices in every market, from the Atlantic to the Rockies, and from the Lakes to the Ohio.

"The value of her annual lumber product was \$100,000,000 or double that of any other state. It was three times the value of her mineral output, and was almost equal to the combined agricultural products of the state. No other body of white pine existed equal to that found in the Lower Peninsula north of the Grand Haven, Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad, and several counties of the Upper Peninsula, quality and quantity per acre considered. It was on ground favorable for economical lumbering and on rivers easy to drive to the numerous shipping harbors on our extended coast line, where rapid and cheap transportation by water or rail carried it to the treeless states of the northwest or the pine exhausted east. The majority of Michigan's millionaires made their fortunes in pine. The industry employed 100,000 men directly, and afforded a great home market for farm products."

Of this vast domain of pine, we may get a glimpse of the wilderness setting and note the beginnings of early settlement. To quote from an article in the *Boston Congregationalist*,

<sup>4</sup>*Mich. Hist. Mag.*, vol. I, 1917, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup>Hemans, *History of Michigan*, p. 225.

<sup>6</sup>Chap. 6, p. 108.



written by the Rev. Dr. J. P. Thompson, 1868, on the growth and prospects of East Saginaw:<sup>7</sup>

"Given an unbroken forest, remote from all highways of commerce, a sluggish, muddy river, with swampy banks, a score or two of deerlicks scattered along its margin—there to found a city which shall become the center of a widespread traffic, by land and water, which shall draw to it enterprise, capital, industry from all parts of the land.

"Twenty-three years ago, when a steamer on which I was a passenger from the upper lakes was driven by stress of weather into Saginaw Bay, East Saginaw had not begun to be, and the now "Old" Saginaw was but an insignificant lumber depot. Moreover the whole region of the upper part of Michigan seemed doomed to stagnation for the currents of trade and emigration were setting due west across the southern line of the state. . .

"After riding through miles of forests, with occasional glimpses of clearings, where the log cabin of the lumberman remains as a witness of the primitive condition of things, one comes suddenly upon a town of 13,000 inhabitants." [Saginaw]

Perhaps the last man to see this primitive grandeur and leave us a written description of the scene, was Alexis de Tocqueville, French traveler and savant (1831). And of this forest he made this prediction:<sup>8</sup>

"In a few years these impenetrable forests will have fallen; the sons of civilization will break the silence of the Saginaw; the banks will be imprisoned by quays; its current, which now flows on unnoticed and tranquil, through a nameless waste, will be stemmed by the prows of vessels. We are perhaps the last travelers allowed to see the primitive grandeur of this solitude."

De Tocqueville, was unquestionably the last traveler to leave a record of "the primitive grandeur of this solitude." The year following, 1832, saw the beginning of the attack

<sup>7</sup>Quoted in *Saginaw Daily Courier*, Sept. 14, 1868.

<sup>8</sup>Quoted in *Hist. Bay City, Mich.* (1875), p. 5.

upon the forest. During this year, the first sawmills were built. They were located along a line of attack placed as outposts: Port Huron, Flint, Grand Rapids, Muskegon. These early mills were primitive affairs; but they were to usher in an era and lay the foundation for the development of machinery which in a few years was to sweep away the world's finest forest.

The story of these early sawmills, the difficulties attendant upon getting in the machinery, the problems of building the mills, and the lives and character of the pioneers who built them, all is filled with interest. The great forest of Michigan did not yield without imposing hardship and struggle upon those who sought to conquer it and gain its wealth. Their tools were primitive and the forest was vast, remote, unrelenting. But the sawmill was an indispensable adjunct to early settlement. Lumber was used everywhere. Consequently we find the first sawmill in Michigan in connection with settlement as early as 1749. The first sawmill used by the early French settlers is mentioned by James V. Campbell:<sup>9</sup> "The very ancient French houses near Detroit, of the better class were very generally of cedar. But there was a sawmill in the pine region, near Lake Huron on St. Clair River, at a very early day; dates are not preserved; but the pinery was well known before 1742, and the mill and the lumber are mentioned in a public report of the resources of the post in 1749."

The first sawmill erected at Port Huron was in 1832. A letter to the editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, October 12, 1888, dated at Old Mission, and written by John Drew, leaves this record:<sup>10</sup> "The first steam sawmill was built on Black River, at the outlet of said river, now Port Huron, and was called 'The Black River Steam Mill Company'. Francis P. Browning was the principal owner. He was a merchant, then living in Detroit, his store being on the southwest corner of Jefferson and Woodward avenues. I built the second steam sawmill on said river, about three miles above. These were the only two mills, I believe, in the state at that time [1832]."

<sup>9</sup>*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 102.

<sup>10</sup>Friend Palmer, Scrap Book, Vol. I, p. 231. (Burton Library).

The first sawmill was built at Detroit the same year, 1832:<sup>11</sup> "In 1832 Josiah R. Dorr interested C. C. Trowbridge and E. A. Brush in the project of building a sawmill in this city. They purchased a piece of river front at the foot of Hastings street from Antoine Beaubien for \$450. This was the first sawmill in Detroit. It was built by Harvey Williams, who afterwards removed to Saginaw and died there in 1883. The proprietors operated the mill about two years and then sold it to Dr. Justin Rice and Dr. Thomas B. Clarke, who were brothers-in-law. It was afterward owned by Buchminster Wight and his relatives."

Mr. Harvey Williams, affectionately known as "Uncle Harvey", was the father of Michigan's steam sawmills. The Hon. C. D. Little, Saginaw, 1874, has left this personal sketch of "Uncle Harvey":<sup>12</sup>

"Mr. Williams' business grew from year to year. In 1815 Uncle Harvey commenced blacksmithing on the ground where the Russell House now stands (Detroit), until it attained to \$100,000 annually. He purchased, set up, and used the first stationary steam engine ever used in the territory of Michigan; he built for J. K. Dow and C. C. Trowbridge the first steam engine for the first steam mill in Michigan and his last work in his shop in Detroit was the building of the two steam engines for the old steamboat Michigan."

On this same page Mr. Little writes: "Not until 1834 did Mr. Williams see his way clear or the inducements sufficient to tempt him, with all his courage, to try living in a wilderness forty miles from civilization. On arrival at Saginaw, his first labor was the erection of a steam sawmill, which was located at the back of Merrimac street in Saginaw City, and will be remembered as the G. D. and E. F. Williams' mill, and was the first steam mill erected in the Saginaw valley. Afterward a run of stone was added to the mill, and used for grinding corn. In 1836 and '37 Mr. Williams built the steam sawmill

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 217.

<sup>12</sup>*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 24.

which for a number of years was called the Emerson mill, and stood on the grounds now occupied by the East Saginaw Gas Co. This was the mill of its day. This mill was run by H. Williams till the disastrous crash of 1837.

"The 'little steam sawmill' at the foot of Mackinaw street did all that was required of it in its day. The big mill at East Saginaw the model mill of 1837, when finished was supposed to be equal to, aye, and beyond, any future requirements."

An account of the first saw that operated on the Saginaw River, 1834, is thus given by Hon. Albert Miller:<sup>13</sup> "In 1834 there was but one saw running on the Saginaw River. That was before the day of mulay saws, but the machinery that propelled that saw was 'fearfully and wonderfully made.' Chas. A. Lull was the sash, and I was the pitman. When I was a lumberman, the season's cutting for one saw was estimated at one million feet. We fell short of that amount that year; but we did cut enough to lay the floors in Mr. Lull's log house that he built on his farm, which is now in the town of Spaulding, and which was the first house built in Saginaw County away from the banks of a river."

The "little steam sawmill" is described thus by Mr. Miller:<sup>14</sup> "In 1835 Messrs. Harvey and G. D. & E. S. Williams built their steam sawmill just above the foot of Mackinaw street in this city; and so little was known at that time about running steam sawmills economically that when they commenced to build their mill they contracted for large quantities of cordwood to be delivered for fuel with which to run it."

The "little steam sawmill" was the first sawmill on the Saginaw River, 1835, and the firm of G. F. Williams & Brothers, Saginaw, was perhaps the oldest firm in the state:<sup>15</sup> "This firm is made up of Geo. F. Williams, W. A. Williams and S. B. Williams. They own two mills which are situated on the river between Mackinaw and Jackson streets. They are the oldest lumber firm on the river. In 1827 their father and Uncle came

<sup>13</sup>*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 363.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>*Lumberman's Gazette*, Vol. 3, 1873.

to the valley and in 1829 built the first mill, in a copartnership entitled G. D. & E. S. Williams (1834-35). They continued in the business for a considerable time, until finally the uncle to the present Williams Bros. sold out his interest to the father. Then the old gentlemen managed the business until the sons arrived at an age to take hold of it. Since that time they have continued in the business, pulling together, and now it is one of the strongest establishments in the valley. In one of their mills they run a circular, upright and light works; and in the other, a single circular and light works. The capacity of the two is about 11,000,000 feet of lumber and about 4,000,000 lath. They own large tracts of pine on the Chippewa and Cass rivers, and make their own logs."

Mr. Ephraim S. Williams' reminiscences regarding the building of the "little steam sawmill" runs as follows:<sup>16</sup> "In the year 1834-35, my brother and I (G. D. and E. S. Williams) built the first steam mill, with one saw, ever built in the Saginaw valley; and, I think, the first in the State, Harvey Williams owning one-third, he furnished the engine and boilers. In after years it was burned down. My brother, G. D. Williams, built a fine mill afterwards, on the point opposite the first one. That was burned down. Then his sons built a first class modern mill on the river, and it, with salt block and fixtures, still stands (1885)."

A detailed description of this mill is given by James Cooke Mills:<sup>17</sup> "This mill [Williams' mill] which was first operated in 1835, was a very primitive affair, having a single gate saw driven by an engine of wonderful proportions, and calculated to cut about two thousand feet of one-inch boards in a day of twelve hours. The engine, originally built for the first steamboat, the Walk-in-the-Water, to ply the Great Lakes, had a cylinder six inches in diameter by forty-eight inches stroke, and afterward, following the wrecking of that boat in 1822, had been installed in the steamboat Superior, and rendered good service for more than ten years longer. Harvey Williams

<sup>16</sup>*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 243.

<sup>17</sup>*History of Saginaw County*, p. 394.

was an excellent blacksmith and all-round mechanic, and personally forged the main parts of the iron work for the mill, bringing it from Detroit when ready for use. He succeeded in adapting the peculiar construction and power of the engine to the uses and needs of sawing machinery; and afterwards provided a run of stone for gristing."

The first sawmill on waters tributary to the Saginaw River, was built in 1828, and an account of this mill has been left by Judge Albert Miller in his "Pioneer Sketches":<sup>18</sup>

"The first sawmill that was ever built on the waters that are tributary to the Saginaw River was built on the Thread River at Grand Blanc in 1828 and '29, by Rowland Perry and Harvey Spencer. The object in building the mill was to supply the want of that settlement, the nearest mill then being at Waterford, about twenty miles distant. There was no pine timber in the immediate vicinity of the mill, the nearest being a small pinery four or five miles distant in a northeasterly direction, from which farmers hauled logs to be manufactured into lumber for their own use. The mill was a poor affair, not profitable to the owners, and after three or four years was wholly abandoned, and the land which was occupied by the pond has been cultivated for more than forty years.

"The second mill was built by Rufus Stevens in 1829 and 1830, on the same stream, four to five miles north of the one first mentioned and within two miles of Flint River, just above the present location of the 'Thread Mills.'

"The first raft of lumber that was ever floated on the tributaries of the Saginaw, was manufactured at this mill and hauled across to Flint River and floated down that stream.

"There was an attempt made in 1830, by Alden Tupper, to build a mill on Flint River below Flushing, but it never progressed any farther than to build a frame, which was suffered to stand without covering till it rotted down. (There was a steam sawmill built at Detroit in 1832, and another at Port Huron the same year.)

<sup>18</sup>*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 242.



"I know of no others in Michigan before Harvey and Gardner D. and Ephraim S. Williams built one at Saginaw in 1835. Joel L. Day, late of Bay City, constructed the mill-wright work, and put in the first mulay saw that was ever used in this part of the country. A good supply of logs was provided, and I think Messrs. Williams did a profitable business during the year 1836.

"I was recently told by a pioneer of northern Michigan that a little more than fifty years ago [now 1884], he was in the town of Dansville, which is situated on a branch of the Genesee River, and that, within four or five miles of that town, good pine lumber could be bought at the mills for \$2.50 per thousand and paid for in almost any kind of barter."

The second mill of the Saginaw valley and first mill at Portsmouth was built in 1836:<sup>19</sup> "Cromwell Barney and Albert Miller and B. K. Hall built the first steam sawmill in operation at that end of the river (Portsmouth) and second in the Saginaw valley." An account of this mill is given by Gen. B. F. Partridge and the difficulties attendant upon getting sawmill machinery into the country is added in graphic detail:<sup>20</sup>

"Judge Albert Miller, then living at Green Point, in Company with B. K. Hall and Cromwell Barney, built the first steam sawmill on the Saginaw, at Portsmouth, on the site of Albert Miller's red salt block, in 1836-37.

"The difficulty of building a mill in those times is hardly apparent to the present people of the Saginaw valley.

"When the arrangements had been completed between the parties, Cromwell Barney was to have the timber got out, and the frame erected and put in order, while Judge Miller went to Ohio to purchase the needed machinery, and other materials for the mill. Mr. Barney hurried up his part of the work and when the timber was ready to haul it was found that but one team was to be found in the country, and that was owned by Leon Trombley, on the other side of the river, and they were made to swim the river daily till the ice prevented, when the

<sup>19</sup>*History of Bay City, Mich.* (1875).

<sup>20</sup>*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 320.



men with tackle and ropes and chains hauled the timber by hand to complete the mill, which was ready for operation in the spring.

"Judge Miller was not so fortunate. He bought the mill gearing and everything in a grist and sawmill, at the mouth of the Huron River, in Ohio, and shipped it on a vessel to Detroit. Navigation was closing, and freights were excessively high from Buffalo to Detroit, \$2.50 per 100 pounds, and Mr. Miller was obliged to purchase the schooner Elizabeth Ward for his use. The machinery and a large stock of goods and provisions were put on board of the vessel, and when Mr. Miller saw his cargo safe under way, with his workmen, whom he had hired at excessive wages, \$3.50 to \$3.00 per day all on board, he started for Saginaw on horseback, till he arrived at Flint, when he found the roads so bad that no horse could go through, but found the river frozen at the mouth, and started from there on foot, breaking the ice, and sometimes wading up to his arms in the water and ice, until he reached Green Point, where his mother lived, and was unable for a while to go further on account of sickness, but on arriving at the mill found no tidings of his vessel. He sent men up after the mail. After waiting some time he received letters that his vessel had laid up at Port Huron.

"He at once started for Detroit and Port Huron, where he found the Captain had made away with about all the goods. Miller then had to hire his machinery and goods drawn from Port Huron on sleighs at \$50 a load. The mill was, notwithstanding all these difficulties, finished and put in operation.

"When the mill went into operation in April, 1837, they found that there was no market where the best lumber could be sold for enough to pay transportation.

"The mill was purchased by James McCormick and his son James J., who ran the mill till 1847 when the father died. They shipped the first cargo of lumber from the Saginaw River. This cargo was shipped to Detroit, and sold for \$8 per thousand feet, half cash, balance in eight and ten mos. the lumber running sixty per cent uppers."

Following the "line of attack" on the forest as it moved across the State, we note the beginning of the mills at Grand Rapids where the first sawmill was erected in 1832. The year 1832 was "Saw-dust Year" for Michigan. The first sawmills in the State were built that year: at Port Huron, Detroit, Grand Rapids.

The first sawmill at Grand Rapids, 1832:<sup>21</sup> "The west end of Bridge street in Grand Rapids, should be recognized as the locality of a Baptist missionary station. The U. S. government in its dealings with Indian tribes, tending to civilize them and lead them to conform to the habits and business thrift of the whites, in the year 1832 provided for, and under the mechanism and supervision of Haynes Gordon erected a sawmill on what is called Indian Creek, a small stream emptying into Grand River near Grand Rapids. The precise location of that sawmill is now [1873] occupied by Perkins Tannery, near the crossing of the Detroit and Milwaukee, and the Grand Rapids and Indiana railroads, perhaps within the present limits of the city of Grand Rapids.

"The mill had a capacity of about 2,000 ft. of lumber per day, a small flutter wheel reaching across the creek and receiving the water 'undershot' was the power to drive a 'sash saw'. In 1834 it was sold to Darius Winsor and Zenas G. Winsor, father and son, of Grand Rapids.

"Darius Winsor was the first postmaster at Grand Rapids. (Population at that time, 100 persons.)

"This sawmill furnished all of the lumber for buildings erected by the early settlers."

These early settlers had to "cut their way" through the forest to their new homes. In this same article we may follow their migration from New York State and learn of the difficulties attendant upon cutting an opening in the wilderness on Grand River for their homes:<sup>22</sup>

"In the spring of 1833, a party numbering 63, men, women, and children, left the State of New York for Michigan. From

<sup>21</sup>*Detroit Post*, Mar. 9, 1873, article "Michigan Childhood", by William M. Ferry, preserved in Fowler Scrapbook, Burton Library, Detroit.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*

German Flats, Herkimer County, Samuel Dexter and family, Erastus Yeomans and family, Joel Guild and family; from Utica, Oneida County, Edward Guild and family; and from Syracuse, Onondaga County, Darius Winsor and family. Purchasing a canal boat as common property, they embarked, with all their household furniture and implements for use in the new country of their destination, and by Erie Canal reached, in good time, Buffalo, on Lake Erie. Here they sold their boat, shipped their furniture, implements and some provisions on board a schooner to be delivered at the mouth of Grand River, in Michigan. A part of the men with their families took passage on a steamer to Detroit, the other went by land around Lake Erie to purchase horses, cattle and cows in Ohio, and drove them to Detroit, at which point the united party, with full equipment for a trial for life and homes in a new country, loaded their goods and families into wagons and started out for Grand River, by the Grand River road which was wagonable as far as the Shiawassee River, from whence, through an unbroken wilderness of timbered land, they cut their road through the wood to what is now Ionia, in Ionia County. Seventeen days they occupied in making this journey.

"On the 10th of May, 1833, this party reached Ionia, purchased of the Indian bands who lived there their growing crop of corn and their wigwams, and began housekeeping in their huts, while building others of more comfortable promise. The first building put up was a log house for Darius Winsor, and then a delegation was sent to Grand Rapids by the trail to devise means to reach and bring up the river the furniture and implements that had been shipped around the lakes to the mouth of Grand River. At Grand Rapids they hired of Louis Campau, an Indian trader, a batteau, and returned to Ionia with a load of lumber from the Indian sawmill.

"Joel Guild erected a large building for use as a boarding house or hotel at Grand Rapids upon the site of the present City National Bank, using lumber from the 'Indian sawmill', for this purpose."

The last sawmill "outpost", at strategic points across the State, was at Muskegon, 1837. Disaster overtook this enterprise:<sup>23</sup>

"The building of the first sawmill on Muskegon Lake was commenced in January, 1837, by Benj. H. Wheelock, agent of the Muskegon Steam Mill Company, most of the stockholders of which resided at Detroit and Ann Arbor. The mill was built upon the site now occupied [1882], by White, Swan & Smith's mill, upon which land Mr. Wheelock about that time had made a preemption claim. It was a steam mill and a large one for the time, having two upright saws.

"Before it was completed the panic of 1837 occurred, and money becoming scarce, it was not ready for operation until 1838, when the first lumber was sawed; that being also the first lumber sawed on Muskegon Lake. The adventure proved to be an unprofitable one for the company, and next year after the mill was started the property passed into the hands of John Lloyd, of Grand Rapids, and John P. Place, of Ionia, who owned and operated the mill until 1841, when it was burned and the machinery taken to Grand Rapids."

From these early beginnings, the lumber business grew and flourished, until Michigan possessed some of the finest sawmills erected in the United States, and produced more pine lumber of higher quality than any other State.

No attempt can be made here to trace the evolution of the sawmill in Michigan, but it can be noted that by 1849 development had taken place which enabled the building of a "big mill" and the introduction of quantity production:<sup>24</sup>

"A mammoth mill has been erected by the Messrs. Johnson's, that it is estimated will turn out from 80 to 100,000 feet of lumber per day. The building is about 200 feet long, forty upright saws, and twenty circular or buzz saws. The engine, mill and fixtures, cost upwards of \$40,000. This with Frazier's, Emerson & Eldridge's, William's and the other mills about Saginaw, it is estimated, will manufacture from 12 to 15,000,-

<sup>23</sup>*Hist. Muskegon County*, (1882, H. R. Page & Co.), p. 24.

<sup>24</sup>*Detroit Free Press*, "The lumber trade of Saginaw," May 7, 1849.

000 feet of lumber, or over \$100,000 worth. This is considerable of an item for only one place."

"The mills were never better supplied than on the opening of spring, and besides improvements have been made in the old mills, and several new ones put up during the winter."

By 1868 there was a complete establishment and model mill on the Saginaw River:<sup>25</sup>

"W. R. Burt & Co.—about 7 miles below the city, [Saginaw], was one of the most complete establishments on the river—sawmill, stave, and heading mill, barrel factory, shingle mill, salt works,—under one management; carpenter and blacksmith shops, gas works, school house, and public library. Channel of 11 feet depth to the bay.

"During sawing season, 150 men employed—mill proper, ran night and day, with an average cut of one hundred thousand feet every 12 hours.

"Two gangs, one circular, and one upright saw with edging tables and cut-off saws.

"Shipments for the first half of 1874 amounted to 14 million feet of lumber."

At Portsmouth, a record cut was made Sept. 11, 1868:<sup>26</sup> "Portsmouth has been showing its 'teeth' at some logs in A. & A. Miller's mill and 'cut stick' surprisingly. Yesterday with an upright, a 6 foot circular, and one of Barlett & Morris' oscillating movement gangs, it cut 120,335 feet of lumber in ten hours and 40 minutes—employing 52 men. Two competent men measured it as it was put on the cars and made no mistake. The kinds cut were inch grades and the work was done well."

A circular saw made a record in McGraw's mill, 1873:<sup>27</sup> "A circular saw in McGraw's mill of this city is said to have cut fourteen boards in one minute. McGraw's new mill average cut for a week recently was 180,000 feet every twenty-four hours."

<sup>25</sup>Mills, *The Industrial History of Saginaw*.

<sup>26</sup>*Saginaw Daily Courier*, Sept. 12, 1868.

<sup>27</sup>*Lumberman's Gazette*, Aug. 1873.

Two of the largest sawmills in the world were located at Bay City in 1875:<sup>28</sup> "John McGraw & Co., at Portsmouth, and H. W. Sage & Co., at Wenona. John McGraw & Co., cut at the rate of 800,000 feet a day—on test, worth \$11,000." (It is my belief that this was a 24 hour run, or more than one mill.)

As early as 1873, some "big cuts" were being made farther up the state, at AuSable:<sup>29</sup> "Loud, Gay & Co., have been cutting 2,000,000 feet per day with their mills—During 10 days in July they shipped 2,300,000 feet. They ship car sills from 30' to 70' long, dock planks, for N. Y. and trestle timber for R. R. bridges. They now have a dockage capacity of 5,000,000 feet of lumber. Decks 1,400 ft. long by 90' wide and extend to 21' feet of water."

Here is the "ad" of a mill for sale at Betsey Lake:<sup>30</sup> "The mill is new and complete in all its parts. Has one large circular saw, gang edger, and lath mill, and is capable of cutting forty to fifty thousand feet of lumber per day. All the machinery boilers and engine are new, and of the best quality—Mill at Betsey Lake."

A few facts will give an idea of the extent to which the industry grew and the large number of sawmills erected within the state. At Saginaw, 1873:<sup>31</sup> "There are located along the Saginaw River, between Saginaw City and Essexville, seventy-nine sawmills, the aggregate daily manufacture of which will approximate 4,000,000 feet of lumber. They give employment to 1,976 men."

"The total number of mills in the Saginaw valley for the year 1873, is 105 mills. In these mills is 40 mulay saws, 102 circular, and 67 gangs."

The growth in number of these mills may be noted by comparing the following years:<sup>32</sup> "1870—1,571 mills; 1880—1,649; 1890—1,957; 1911—1,323. Wisconsin was second only to Michigan, with a total of 863 mills in 1890."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup>*Hist. of Bay City, Mich.* (1875).

<sup>29</sup>*Lumberman's Gazette*, Aug. 1873.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, Sept. 1873.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 1874, Vol. 4, p. 40.

<sup>32</sup>*Report of Board of World's Fair Managers, 1899, Chicago Columbia Exposition, 1892-3, Chap. 6; Sawyer, Hist. Northern Michigan, Vol. I.*

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, Chap. 5.



In the Saginaw valley alone, "in 1867 Lewis & Headly estimated the stand of pine timber at 5,241,600,000 feet, 300,000,000 cut per annum in Saginaw district."<sup>34</sup> "The cut for the year 1872, near 3,000,000,000 feet of lumber, an average price of \$14.00 per thousand feet obtained for the product."<sup>35</sup>

In order to view the panorama behind these figures, it will be interesting to observe the scene as it took place in the woods, on the rivers and lakes, and read into the picture the romance of this time. It is of this time, that Stewart Edward White's book, *The Blazed Trail*, was written. It tells of life within this scene. Today we are able only to reconstruct the view through news flashes of that day. The sight must have been inspiring.

"The *Flint Globe* says that Flint River presents a magnificent sight this week.<sup>36</sup> From Flint City up the stream for 20 miles every square foot of surface is packed, with pine logs, so thickly that a man may cross from bank to bank dry shod. It is estimated that there are 50,000,000 feet of such logs in the river."

The logs cut by the early mills were very large:<sup>37</sup> "It was usual, say fifteen years ago, [now 1874] for logs sent to river mills to scale from 500 to 1,000 feet board measure for ordinary length, and the largest percentage into the better grades. Now they run from 200 to 275 feet to the log, or about six to three to the thousand feet, and three and one-half logs to the thousand are considered a good average."

A gigantic rollway:<sup>38</sup> "About three miles above Heartl's, at three or four banking grounds within a distance of half a mile, on the Cass river, the logs are piled up in the river seventy feet high, to the top of the banks, and are estimated at near 15,000,000 feet."

The most famous stand of pine:<sup>39</sup> "Most famous cork pine of Cass river, on the banks of Perry Creek, 1836. One billion

<sup>34</sup>*Lumberman's Gazette*, 1872.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, Aug. 1873.

<sup>36</sup>*Port Huron Daily Times*, Apr. 19. 1872.

<sup>37</sup>*Lumberman's Gazette*, Jan. 1874.

<sup>38</sup>*Port Huron Daily Times*, April 5, 1872.

<sup>39</sup>*Mills, Industrial History of Saginaw.*



one hundred and twenty-six million feet, quality the best.

"The last stand of 260 trees 2 miles east of Cass City, were cut in 1907—ranged from 5' to 3' in diameter. Cut more than 100 thousand feet of best grade lumber."

Waters tributary to the Saginaw grew some record trees:<sup>40</sup> "The famous cork pine of the Cass was indeed a wonderful timber, but some equally as good though in small lots, was found on the Tittabawassee and tributaries. I well remember one fine tract near Red Keg (Averill) which cut twenty-seven million feet of logs to a section; and one acre of especially fine trees, which I had measured and staked off, was cut and skidded separately to satisfy my curiosity. This one acre scaled more than one hundred thousand feet of logs, some of which ran two to the thousand, a record seldom seen equalled."

The mills devoured whole rafts of logs, as the ravenous saws hummed to make the "Pine Barons" wealthy. This in few words tells the story of the destruction of the Michigan white pine forest:<sup>41</sup> "On an average of 18 rafts of logs are transferred from AuGres, Rifle, and Pine rivers, to the Saginaw every week, aggregating 5,400,000 feet."

News items:

"Muskegon Lumber-men put afloat 425,000,000 feet of logs, 1872-3."<sup>42</sup>

"There will be 100,000,000 feet of pine logs run through Brown's pond, on the Little Muskegon river, this spring."<sup>43</sup>

"There are, it is estimated 575,000,000 feet of logs cut and banked on the Tittabawassee and its tributaries. If 70 per cent, gets down to the booms, the lumbermen will think they do well."<sup>44</sup>

"The *Bay City Journal* estimates the amount of logs put into the streams of Michigan during the past winter at 2,215,000,000 feet."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, by log scaler, O. E. Elsemore.

<sup>41</sup>*Lumberman's Gazette*, Aug. 1873.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, Oct. 1873.

<sup>43</sup>*Port Huron Daily Times*, Apr. 10, 1872.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, Apr. 18, 1872.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, March 25, 1872.

Such tremendous production, such a "cut" year after year, for 20 years, was inevitably to make many operators immensely wealthy. Michigan boasted millionaires and multi-millionaires. "Tall stories" are told as to how the "Pine Barons" of this day made their money. Stories of "stolen timber", "trespass", "false entry", the buying up of "swamp land", and the "cut around forty", may have some foundation. It nevertheless is my belief that our "big men" made their money legitimately, honestly, and in fair competition. For example:<sup>46</sup> "A tract of 2,400 acres of pine land, located in Lapeer county, was sold by parties in the Saginaw Valley, two years ago for \$72,000 estimated to contain 40,000,000 feet of logs. The purchasers erected a mill on the tract and commenced cutting. After making very careful estimates they found it would yield 80,000,000 feet, and have sold the undivided one-half of the tract for \$72,000, the price paid originally for the whole."

The "trespass agent" is described by the *Detroit News*, Sunday, Nov. 7, 1909, p. 12:

"In 1903, after the state's timber was about all gone, an act was passed by the legislature which makes it a felony to cut timber on State land whether old Grayman tells you you can or not. Passed 50 years ago this law would have been of great value if enforced. Passed in 1903, it was largely a joke. The state has hardly enough timber left to pay for a year's protection. What with graft and incompetence, the magnificent forests of pine and hardwood that once made Michigan the banner lumber state of the Union are gone and there is nothing to show for them. The state was literally robbed.

"The schemes resorted to for protection against conviction for willful trespass were many. One was to secure a deed from some person no matter who, or whether he had any interest in the land or not—which would give a color of title. Another was to alter the blazed lines and, if discovered and prosecuted, claim a mistake. It was a standing joke in northern Michigan in the lumber days that a deed calling for a certain description containing so many acres more or less, always meant more

<sup>46</sup>*Lumberman's Gazette*, Aug. 1873.

instead of less. As one old lumberjack who had grown gray in the service of the lumber companies and whose proud boast it was that he had helped steal millions of feet of the best cork pine that the state ever grew, put it:—'A northern Michigan 40 was a round 40 and took in all the timber the owner could get around to cut before the authorities got onto the fact that he was trespassing.' The act of 1903 squared the circle."

The Big Fellows escaped: "Young man," said the old settler, "the state has begun this prosecution a long time too late. It should have been started several years ago when the big companies were stealing the pine. It doesn't look right to let the big fellows escape because some of them are office-holders now and jump on the little fellows. You start on the big fellows who stole the pine and we'll all be with you; but you can't convict any of our boys for takin' a few ties until you do."

"But, my friend," replied the orator, "those cases have been outlawed."

"So have these," snapped the old settler. "My boy, I was in this country before you were born. I have seen some of the best pine that ever grew stolen from the state and United States and nothing ever done about it because the men who took it were strong in politics. When some poor devil who is trying to make a home takes a few loads of cedar, though, how quickly you jump on to him. But you can't convict him. That jury would have gone to sleep if you hadn't made so much noise. They knew what they were goin' to do before you started. You better go back to Lansing and stay there."

And now in retrospect it may be stated:<sup>47</sup> "Michigan had more pine timber and of a better quality than any other State in the Union; that the facilities for manufacturing and shipping it to market were superior to those of any pine lumber country in the world; that the annual value of manufactured lumber was equal to that of the wheat crop of Michigan (1856), and that at the present rate of increase, in less than five years

<sup>47</sup>Michigan Pamphlets, Vol. 3. (Burton Library).

it will equal the value of the entire agricultural product of the State."

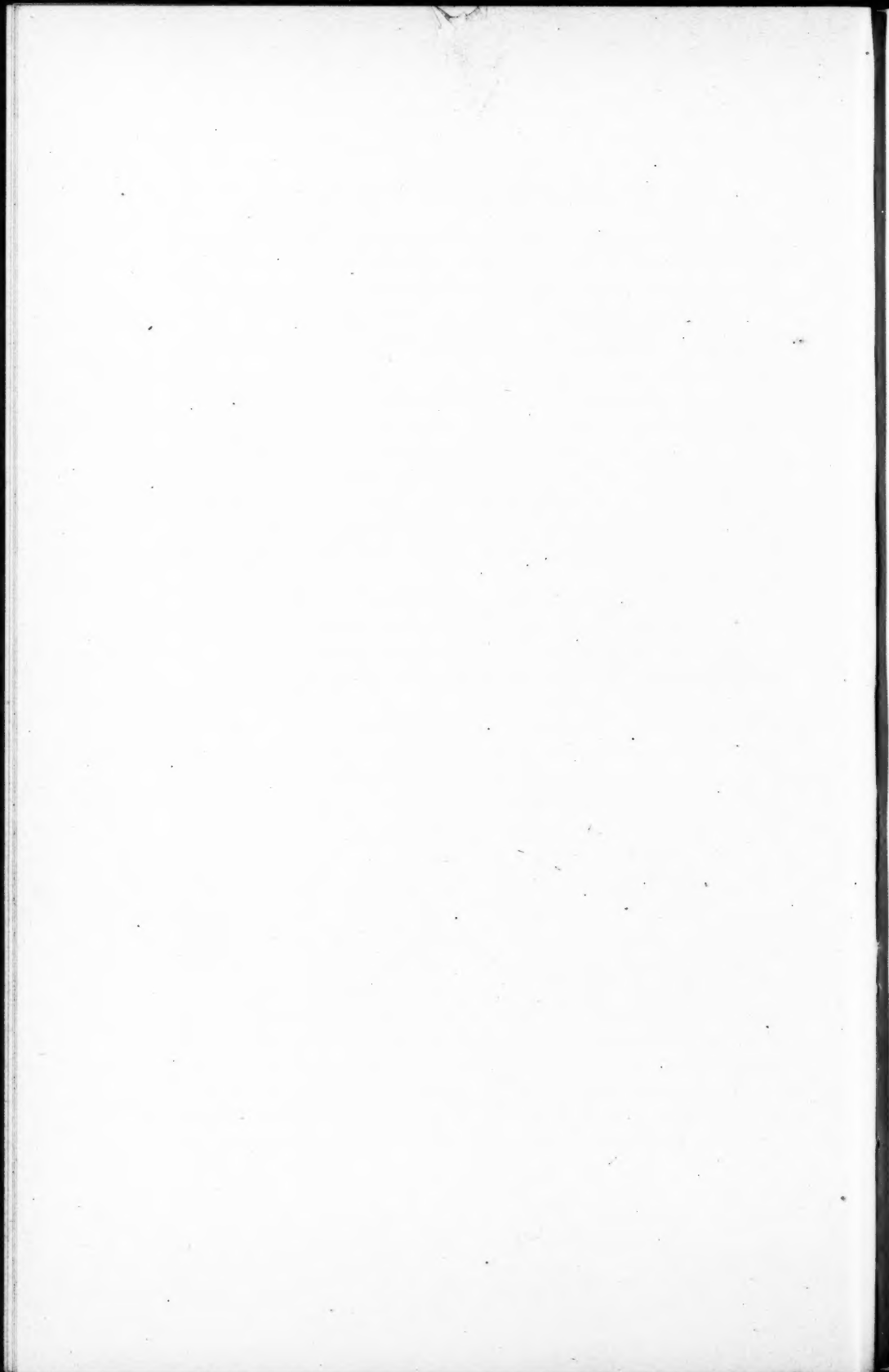
To see the forest as it stood, to feel its grandeur, to reflect on its untimely destruction, let us view the Michigan pine forest as the editor of the *Lumberman's Gazette* saw it many years ago:<sup>48</sup>

"Its very foliage, its towering form, piercing the very clouds with regal dignity, its cones, its every point in exact detail, are so photographed and so surely pictured upon his memory, upon his mind's tablets, that now, while writing, in his imagination, he can hear the roaring of the storm king, the sighing of the gentle zephyr, the robin's cheery song, the cuckoo's moan, the woodcock's scream and cone squirrel's chipper among and upon its boughs.

"While indulging such visions in actuality, with no human companions about us, but alone with the old pines, stately and majestic, rearing their proud heads almost beyond the reach of the human eye, we feel we would like to have it so always."

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<sup>48</sup>Editorial, January, 1874.



## THE EXECUTIVE VETO IN MICHIGAN

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THE framers of early American constitutions drew upon their governmental experiences rather than current political theories to such an extent that the establishment of state governments under written constitutions introduced no new or unusual features. These early constitutions reveal the attempts of the political leaders to perpetuate those characteristics of the colonial regime which had been conducive to popular control and to reject or minimize all others.

Since no feature of the colonial period had engendered more antagonism than the royal governor with his legislative veto, the early constitutions granted the state executives a minimum of power and responsibility. In fact, the chief magistrate was generally little more than a political figurehead and, prior to the adoption of the federal constitution, in only two states was the veto power preserved in even a modified form;<sup>1</sup> nor did the states at once accept the theory of a separation of powers which recognized an executive check upon the action of the popular assemblies.

However, within the next twenty years, 1790-1810, the original fears of executive tyranny rapidly subsided before the graver dangers attendant upon common legislative incompetency and corruption. During these years distrust in popular assemblies was evidenced by an ever-increasing number of constitutional limitations—substantive and procedural—which restricted the scope of legislative authority, and a gradual strengthening of the position of the governor. After an inauspicious start the executive emerged within fifty years as the most important and trusted official in the state. Outstanding among the constitutional powers conferred upon the

<sup>1</sup>*New York Const.*, 1777, art. III; *Massachusetts Const.*, 1780, chap. I, sect. 1, art. II. The constitution of South Carolina (1776, art. VII) vested the governor (president and commander-in-chief) with an absolute veto, but the prerogative was abolished two years later.

office was the qualified negative upon legislation.<sup>2</sup> This power was so generally recognized by 1835 that the veto was incorporated, without question, into the constitution drafted in that year for the proposed state of Michigan.

The members of the convention of 1835 were thoroughly practical men, opposed to excursions into the field of "untried novelties", hence the first Michigan constitution was little more than a collection of suitable clauses plucked from the organic laws of the older states. The executive veto was no exception to this general rule; its principal provisions were carried over verbatim from the constitution of New York,<sup>3</sup> with an additional grant of authority which extended the veto to all concurrent resolutions, except of adjournment.<sup>4</sup> Following the language of the former document, the Michigan constitution required that, "Every bill passed by the Legislature shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the Governor for his approval."<sup>5</sup> The executive was granted ten days, provided the legislature were in session, in which to consider all legislation and present his objections if he disapproved, but any bill in his possession at the expiration of that period became law "in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Legislature by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not become a law." However, executive disapproval did not constitute an absolute veto; upon reconsideration the houses were allowed to override the veto by the simple expedient of affirmative action on the part of two-thirds of the members *present* in each of the two houses. These original provisions proved unsatisfactory in at least two particulars and were somewhat modified in the revisions of 1850 and 1908.

Although the constitution of 1835 permitted the governor ten days, with the legislature in session, in which to approve proposed legislation, it was silent on the important point as to whether or not he might approve of bills, passed by the houses, subsequent to the date of adjournment. In the absence

<sup>2</sup>For the development of this power, see John A. Fairlie, "The Veto Power of the Governor," *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, vol. XI (1917), pp. 473-493.

<sup>3</sup>Art. I, sect. 12, 1821.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. *Missouri Const.*, 1820, art. IV, sect., 11.

<sup>5</sup>*Mich. Const.*, 1835, art. IV, sect., 16.



of express constitutional grant, it was generally conceded that the governor had no such authority. Executive approval was commonly regarded as a grant of legislative power, and limited by the doctrine of separation to the express language of the grant. "In approving a law, he [the governor] is not supposed to act in the capacity of the executive magistrate of the state, whose duty it is to see that the laws are properly executed, but as a part of the legislative branch of the government. This power is a *unit*, though distributed; and the parts can only act in unison. Whenever a part ceases to act, the whole becomes inoperative."<sup>6</sup> Under this interpretation all bills passed by the houses yet unsigned by the governor automatically lapsed with legislative adjournment.

This construction of the power of approval reduced the executive's authority in the law-making process to a mere formality. A large part of the bills passed in each session were presented to the governor on the eve of adjournment and consequently he was faced by the dilemma of affixing his signature to scores of bills, with details of which he was necessarily unfamiliar, or of allowing the majority to fail by default. This undesirable condition was partially remedied in the revision of 1850. The revised constitution authorized the governor to "approve, sign and file in the office of secretary of state, within five days after the adjournment of the legislature, any bill passed during the last five days of the session, and the same shall become a law."<sup>7</sup>

This period of grace has long been recognized as altogether too short a time for executive consideration yet the provision was readopted by the convention of 1908. Fortunately, owing to a legislative practice of recent years, the governor now has adequate time to consider all important measures. The legisla-

<sup>6</sup>Fowler v. Pierce, 2 Ca. 165. This interpretation was accepted without qualification by the attorney-general of Michigan. *Opinions of the Attorney-General*, Michigan, 1895, pp. 275-276. Cf. *City of Detroit v. Chapin*, 108 Mich., 138 (1895).

<sup>7</sup>*Mich. Const.*, 1850, art. IV, sect. 14. The Michigan constitution was the first to carry this provision. Fairlie, *op. cit.*, p. 479. The court interpreted this clause to mean that the governor might sign any bill within five days after adjournment regardless of whether or not it were passed in the last five days of the session, provided he acted within the ten day period designated in the constitution. *City of Detroit v. Chapin*, 108 Mich. 141-142 (1895).

ture, upon the completion of its program, sets a day some three or four weeks in advance as the date of adjournment *sine die* and then adjourns to that date. In the interim legislative business is intrusted to the secretary of the senate and the clerk of the house, who are authorized to present for executive approval bills passed by the houses, and to receive, in the name of the house and senate, respectively, communications from the governor. The bills passed in the closing days of the session are not presented, *en bloc*, to the governor but are parcelled out at frequent intervals during the recess period in order to allow ample time for consideration. The bills approved are duly signed and filed in the office of secretary of state while those disapproved are returned, together with the governor's objections, to the proper officer of the originating house. This practice has greatly improved the character of the legislative process in that the period for executive consideration has been extended, the governor is compelled actively to veto all bills of which he disapproves and the legislature is assured an opportunity to reconsider all vetoed measures.<sup>8</sup>

A second clause of the original article which likewise tended to minimize executive influence in the exercise of the veto underwent revision in the convention of 1850. In adopting the New York rule whereby, upon reconsideration, two-thirds of the members *present* in each house could override the governor's veto, the convention of 1835 left the door open to what was commonly called "minority legislation." The proponents of vetoed legislation were often able to override executive disapproval with a lesser number of votes than had been cast for the measure on its original passage. Denouncing the situation on the floor of the third convention, Robert McClelland declared, "In many cases, a minority of each House passed bills over the head of the Governor; actually a minority of the members of each House, according to the number elected."<sup>9</sup> This practice was highly commended by some of the more

<sup>8</sup>The constitutionality of this procedure was sustained by the supreme court of the state. *Wood v. State Administrative Board*, 255 Mich. 224 (1931).

<sup>9</sup>*The Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan*, 1867, vol. II, p. 87.

democratic delegates who believed that the law-making program should be entirely in the keeping of the immediate representatives of the people; however, legislative indiscretions were widely blamed for the state's early financial difficulties and the provision was amended to strengthen executive control. The convention abandoned the New York rule in favor of the Louisiana practice which required the affirmative action of two-thirds of all the members *elected* to each of the houses to override the executive veto. Subsequent events allayed the protested fears of executive tyranny and the provision was re-adopted in the revision of 1908.

Aside from the attempt to empower the governor to disapprove of items in appropriation bills, the general veto power remains today basically similar to the grant of 1850; however, some changes in phraseology were made in 1908 which are worthy of mention. In the revision of that year the words "and concurrent resolutions except of adjournment" were stricken out, so the section now provides that, "Every bill passed by the legislature shall be presented to the governor before it becomes a law."<sup>10</sup> This alteration eliminated the legal distinction between joint and concurrent resolutions and thus obviated the confusion which had arisen under the constitution of 1850. The present constitution in requiring that "All legislation shall be by bill,"<sup>11</sup> precludes any possibility of circumventing executive disapproval through the enactment of resolutions. All laws, or enactments of legal effect, must now be approved by the governor or command the support of a two-thirds majority of all members *elected* to each of the two houses.<sup>12</sup>

Like many other states, Michigan had long been a victim of excessive tax burdens, resulting from "pork-barrel" tactics in legislation which prevented a scientific approach to the problems of public finance. In 1899 Gov. Pingree declared in

<sup>10</sup>*Michigan Const.*, 1908, art. V, sect. 36.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, art. V, sect. 19.

<sup>12</sup>A law enacted by the legislature, initiated by petition, need not be referred to the governor for his approval. *Ibid.*, art. V, sect. 1. There is also the possibility that a bill might become law without the signature of the governor, but with his approval, if he kept it in his possession for more than ten days with the legislature in session.

a message to the legislature: "The present financial condition of the State is largely the result of legislative custom, which cannot be charged to any individual or set of individuals. It is a defect which it will be difficult to cure. The members of the Legislature, who come from districts in which State institutions are located, combine their votes for the purpose of securing the appropriations for which they ask."<sup>13</sup> As early as 1881, Governor Croswell urged as a remedy for this legislative evil the adoption of a constitutional amendment authorizing the executive to veto specific items in appropriation bills;<sup>14</sup> but, although similar recommendations were advanced by his successors, the legislature refused to submit a proposal and consequently the situation remained unchanged until a constitutional convention convened in 1907. This convention adopted without real opposition a provision authorizing the governor "to disapprove of any item or items of any bill making appropriations of money embracing distinct items."<sup>15</sup>

This provision has not, however, vested in the governor the degree of financial control predicted by its proponents. It is to be noted that the success of the negation depends upon the proper itemization of appropriation bills; and thus the legislature has in fact the power to nullify the section, in spite of the clear constitutional implication, by voting appropriations in lump sums without regard to items. This it has persistently done to the embarrassment of governors pledged to economy. By way of retaliation several governors have interpreted the provision as conferring upon the executive constitutional authority to reduce sums as well as to strike items from appropriation measures. This expediency was first utilized by Governor Osborn in 1911 and the practice was never seriously challenged until 1931, when the issue was raised for judicial determination.

In construing the section the court ruled that the veto was the exercise of a legislative function and that, when such a

<sup>13</sup>Governor Hazen S. Pingree to the legislature. *Messages of the Governors*, vol. IV, p. 167 (1899).

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 359 (1881).

<sup>15</sup>*Mich. Const.*, 1908, art. V, sect. 37.

function is exercised by the executive, it must be in strict accordance with the language of the constitutional grant. "The language of section 37 [the item veto]", said the court, "must be read with all intendments against enlargement beyond its plain words. In this State the general veto power never has included and does not include the authority to modify a bill or disapprove it in part. . . . The power of the governor under it [sect. 37], like the general veto power, is to approve or disapprove. Neither the language of the section nor its purpose carries necessary implications of power to reduce an item in amount, nor, in the ordinary use of the words, would such a construction be justified."<sup>16</sup>

In allowing the governor to share with the houses the functions of law-making, the clear constitutional implication is that he is to accept his full share of that responsibility and, further, that neither branch should exercise its functions in such a manner as to obstruct or abridge the free exercise of the authority conferred upon the other. The most disturbing factor in the discharge of this joint responsibility has arisen out of the prevailing practice of legislatures to adopt most of their measures in the closing days of the session, adjourn and allow the governor to complete the program. The Michigan constitution, as do many others, provides in its statement of the veto that, "If any bill be not returned by the governor within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it has been presented to him, it shall become a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislature by adjournment, prevents its return, in which case it shall not become a law."<sup>17</sup> Few governors have sought to evade responsibility in the disposal of objectionable measures by refusing to act within the ten day period; yet, as a matter of political expediency, some bills have been allowed to become law in this manner.<sup>18</sup> Far greater irresponsibility has, however, been encouraged by the latter part of this provision. When the bulk of the program is

<sup>16</sup>Wood v. State Administrative Board, 255 Mich. 225.

<sup>17</sup>Art. V, sect. 36.

<sup>18</sup>Since 1909, only three bills have become law in this manner: Governor Ferris refused to act on two occasions, and another bill was declared to have become law when Governor Sleeper's intended veto came one day late.

presented to the governor just prior to adjournment, this clause relieves him of the responsibility of actively vetoing a majority of the measures of which he disapproves. In those states where no further precautionary measures are provided, legislation unfavorable to certain minority groups—but otherwise unobjectionable—may, at the discretion of the governor, be effectively vetoed without an official statement of objections. This type of veto cannot at the present time be exercised in Michigan.<sup>19</sup>

The legislative practice of temporary adjournment precludes the “pocket veto” and returns to the houses the final responsibility for the fate of all bills introduced. Every measure presented to the governor and unsigned becomes law at the expiration of the ten day period unless returned “with his objections to the house in which it originated.” When called upon to interpret this section of the constitution, the supreme court ruled that only adjournment *sine die* would properly prevent the return of a bill and call into operation the provision for “pocket veto.” “The governor may transmit the bill to the originating house [during the period of temporary adjournment] through its officers and thus unequivocally evidence his disapproval. The purpose and object of the Constitution justifies, and, in our opinion requires, the construction that it is only adjournment without day of the legislature which prevents return of a bill to the originating house and calls into operation the provision for ‘pocket veto’.”<sup>20</sup>

This practice of temporary adjournment is commendable, in that it mitigates the burden imposed upon the governor by that section of the constitution which allows him only five days after adjournment to approve bills passed by the houses; but a reasonable doubt may be raised as to whether or not it has done more to bring about closer cooperation between the two branches of government in the discharge of their legislative responsibilities. To be sure, bills may no longer lapse through executive inaction, but these recess veto messages are,

<sup>19</sup>Since 1900, only two governors have had occasion to “pocket veto” measures.

<sup>20</sup>Wood v. State Administrative Board, 255 Mich. 231.



for the most part, mere official gestures, perfunctory in tone, and in no manner to be considered as constructive criticism. Nor has the practice gone far in holding the governor more strictly accountable to the legislature for his after session vetoes. Although the legislature may reconvene to continue its session and, if it chooses, reconsider all vetoed measures, it is only on rare occasions that sufficient numbers can be mustered for that purpose. The majority of the members consider the session closed by temporary adjournment and only twice during the past twenty-five years has a quorum been present to close the session. These are the only provisions of the present constitution which deal directly with the executive veto,<sup>21</sup> yet one other section merits attention because of its indirect influence. Prior to 1909, despite repeated threats of veto,<sup>22</sup> hundreds of local or special acts were presented for executive approval; many were vetoed,<sup>23</sup> but in more cases the governors were constrained, as a matter of political expediency, to lend approval to this nuisance legislation. In spite of

<sup>21</sup>*Michigan Const.*, 1908. art. V.

"Sec. 36. Every bill passed by the legislature shall be presented to the governor before it becomes a law. If he approve, he shall sign it; if not, he shall return it with his objections to the house in which it originated, which shall enter the objections at large upon its journal and reconsider it. On such reconsideration, if two-thirds of the members elected agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent with the objections to the other house, by which it shall be reconsidered. If approved by two-thirds of the members elected to that house, it shall become a law. In such case the vote of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays and the names of the members voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journals of each house, respectively. If any bill be not returned by the governor within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it has been presented to him, it shall become a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislature by adjournment, prevents its return, in which case it shall not become a law. The governor may approve, sign and file in the office of the secretary of state within five days, Sundays excepted, after the adjournment of the legislature any bill passed during the last five days of the session, and the same shall become a law.

"Sec. 37. The governor shall have power to disapprove of any item or items of any bill making appropriations of money embracing distinct items; and the part or parts approved shall be the law; and the item or items disapproved shall be void, unless re-passed according to the rules and limitations prescribed for the passage of other bills over the executive veto.

Ordinances passed by county boards of supervisors must be submitted to the governor for approval. I *Mich. Comp. Laws* (1929), 1130; as must village charters, *ibid.*, 1780; and amendments to city charters, *ibid.*, 2258. In these cases approval is usually granted unless the measure submitted is declared unconstitutional or illegal by the attorney general.

<sup>22</sup>Governor Warner threatened to veto all of certain types of local and special acts presented for his approval. *Messages of the Governors*, vol. IV, p. 424 (1905).

<sup>23</sup>Almost all of Governor Crapo's numerous vetoes (1867-1889) were of local acts designed to pledge public credit for railroad construction. In spite of Governor Warner's threat, 1,425 local or special acts became law during his first two terms, 1905-1909.



executive exhortations and frequent vetoes, by 1909, "The evils of local and special legislation [had] grown to be almost intolerable, introducing uncertainty and confusion into the laws."<sup>24</sup> Under the present constitution this type of legislation has been practically eliminated and the governor relieved of an odious task;<sup>25</sup> such unnecessary local or special acts as are now passed are readily vetoed, without thought of political expediency, upon the grounds of constitutionality.

Neither the unquestioned incorporation of the veto provisions nor the exercise of the power by the early executives was indicative of its potentialities as an instrument of legislation. The plan of government framed by the convention of 1835 anticipated that the determination of state policy was to be reserved, exclusively, to the senate and house of representatives; and, although executive approval was required for all legislation, it did not intend that the governor was thereby authorized to nullify the clear intent of a majority of the members of the two houses. The veto was regarded as a proper check against legislative abuses, a power which should be employed to delay legislative action and compel reconsideration of measures of doubtful constitutionality or expediency, but was not designed to make the governor an integral part of the legislative branch. Nor is there any evidence in the proceedings of the second or third conventions (1850 and 1867) of a real change in attitude even though substantial majorities in each of these conventions favored a strengthening of the governor's position to the extent of making his negative more difficult to overcome; and only one section of the present constitution reflects any change in attitude. The item veto is based upon the proposition that the governor should share responsibility with the houses in the determination of the fiscal policies of the state.

<sup>24</sup>*Report of the Committee on Submission and Address to the People*, 1908, p. 22.

<sup>25</sup>"The legislature shall pass no local or special act in any case where a general act can be made applicable, and whether a general act can be made applicable shall be a judicial question." *Mich Const.*, art. V, sect. 30. Since the adoption of this provision the number of all such enactments does not exceed 130 measures.

This conception of the veto power prevailed in practice as well as in theory through the early years of statehood and has been endorsed, although not strictly followed, by many of the outstanding governors of the state. Governor Mason, in addressing the legislature, unequivocally voiced this theory of the extent of the power, "The executive officer, strictly construing his veto power, should confine its exercise to constitutional questions, unless it be in flagrant cases where facts come before him which have been withheld from the knowledge of the legislature. Questions of expediency as a general rule should be left to the immediate representatives of the people."<sup>26</sup> A similar view was accepted and generally practiced by Mason's immediate successors and, in more recent years, governors have maintained that the original construction is to be preferred.

Upon assuming office in 1911, Governor Osborn described the proper limits of the veto in terms not unlike those used by Michigan's first governor. "As a general proposition the governor, in my opinion, should not interpose his veto unless information reaches him concerning a measure subsequent to its enactment that was not possessed during its discussion, or for other rare and rational reasons."<sup>27</sup> He declared further that out of a contrary policy "has come an assumption on the part of the governor of a legislative power not intended by the Constitution. Through this unnatural instrumentality the people have been weaned from as closely watching their legislators as they should, both that credit may be given where earned and blame when deserved. There has been, also, a shifting of legislative responsibility to the governor, which is as unwholesome as it is improper and undesirable."<sup>28</sup> Governor Ferris (1913-1917) lamented the prevailing practices in law making which were characterized by legislative irresponsibility and frequent vetoes based upon questions of policy and economy. In the interest of better government, he pleaded for

<sup>26</sup>*Messages of the Governors*, vol. I, p. 200 (1837).

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 579 (1911).

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 577 (1911).

closer cooperation between the two branches, as contemplated under the constitution, promised a modest exercise of the veto and exhorted the legislature to adopt improved methods of legislation and accept responsibility for its program.<sup>29</sup>

Yet, in spite of these pronouncements, few governors have been able to accept the limited responsibilities imposed by the original interpretation of the power. The American theory of republican governments demands that the ultimate responsibility in the determination of policy should reside in, and be definitely assumed by the legislative branch, reserving to the executive the power to advise and in exceptional cases, through the use of the veto, to suspend the process. That the theory has failed is a proposition beyond doubt; we can save it today only through a strained interpretation which recognizes the governor as a third and independent house of the legislative branch. With the qualified negative as the original and only important constitutional grant of power, the governor arose in less than fifty years to a position of prime importance in the determination of state policy. And, if we may accept the official pronouncements of our leading governors, this responsibility has not been acquired by deliberate choice, but has been forced upon the executive by circumstances beyond his control.

The history of the state is replete with examples of legislative indiscretions which have upset the original balance of powers and have shifted the burden of responsible government to the executive and judicial branches. The first half century of statehood witnessed at least three periods of legislative hysteria which led to unprecedented exercises of the executive veto.<sup>30</sup> Conscientious governors sought for constitutional and technical flaws to justify their use of the veto to check these disastrous programs; but, frankly acknowledging the futility of this expediency, the more courageous executives began with

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 664-665 (1915).

<sup>30</sup>These involved internal improvements at public expense, the granting of special privileges through acts of incorporation and attempts to authorize local units of government to pledge their credit for railroad construction.

some misgivings, to disapprove of legislation upon the sole ground that, in their opinions, it was contrary to sound public policy. In vetoing, upon grounds of expediency, legislation authorizing local units of government to pledge their credit for railroad construction, Governor Crapo called attention to the constitutional right of the legislature to pass the act over his veto and then added in defense of his policy, "I shall, in no way, as I can see, have exceeded my constitutional rights, by thus frankly and candidly declining to approve the bill, and of giving you my reasons therefor."<sup>31</sup> Public approbation of this use of the veto encouraged the executives to accept further legislative responsibilities until, by the opening of the present century, the governor constituted in fact a third house of the legislative branch of government.<sup>32</sup> An examination of the veto messages of the last twenty-five years reveals that the governors have not hesitated to nullify, on the grounds of expediency and public policy, the clear intent of a majority of the members of the legislative branch.

Since 1909, three hundred and thirty-three legislative acts have been negatived by the executive, in whole or in part. Of these vetoes, only about 20 per cent were explained upon the basis of constitutionality, faulty drafting and other technical defects; while in about 80 per cent of the cases the governor justified his negative in terms of public policy or expediency.<sup>33</sup> On very few occasions did the executive possess information which had not been available to the house and senate at the time of enactment. In most of these vetoes the governor accepted direct and final responsibility in the determination of state policy and acted in accordance with his understanding of public needs and the ability of the state to assume additional burdens or obligations. This conclusion is based upon a careful analysis of the veto messages of the period, the

<sup>31</sup>*Messages of the Governors*, vol. II, p. 607, (1867).

<sup>32</sup>As early as 1868, Justice Cooley recognized this legislative position of the Governor, when, speaking for the supreme court, he said: "A law must have the concurrence of the three branches of the legislative department." *The People v. Supervisor of Onondago*, 16 Mich. 254.

<sup>33</sup>This latter 80% may be roughly classified: 38%, public policy; 26%, economy; 2%, miscellaneous; and 4%, pocket vetoes.

salient points of which are summarized in the accompanying chart.<sup>34</sup>

Executive leadership is so thoroughly established in this state that a governor can no longer hope for a successful administration unless he is able to control the legislative program; and, under our system of party irresponsibility and "ward representation" with its "log-rolling" tactics, legislative control necessitates a frequent exercise of the veto or, yet of greater importance, independence and fearlessness in its use.<sup>35</sup> "Gradually the public has come to look upon the Executive", said Governor Osborn, "as its quasi-legislative representative.

<sup>34</sup>The writer believes that no argument need here be advanced in defense of his classification. The items considered in columns III, IV, V, IX and X are clearly indicative of differences in opinion in the determination of state policy, and the messages of disapproval demonstrate that the governors felt no compulsion to seek further justification.

#### HISTORY OF VETOES, 1909-1934

Governor	Constitutionality	Drafting	Economy	Public Policy	Unnecessary, or Inexpedient	Duplicate or Superseded	Confusing or Unworkable	Incomplete or Inadequate	Miscellaneous	Pocket Veto	Total	Item veto	Passed over veto	Passed over veto in one house	Law without Approval	Veto in special Sessions
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
Warner										8	8					
Osborn	5	4	33	4	4	1		1	1*		53	20				
Ferris	1		1	17	3	1					23		6	4	2	
Sleeper	3	3	1	9	1					5	22				1†	
Groesbeck	8	5	3	21	3	3	2	3			48	2				
Green	6	7	42	40	16	2	5		2‡		120	27				
Brucker	1	2	4	18	3						28	4	1			1
Comstock	2	3	4	18	4						31	2	3	5		2
Totals	26	24	88	127	34	7	7	4	3	13	333	55	10	9	3	3

\*No valid claim against state.

†Veto after ten days.

‡No appropriation clause.

<sup>35</sup>During the period under consideration about 10 per cent of all measures submitted for approval have been vetoed. This is slightly higher than the average (7%) cited by Professor Holcombe for forty-four states for 1923. Arthur N. Holcombe, *State Government in the United States*, p. 353. New York, 1931. Ten per cent for Michigan appears unusually large, if one considers: (1) The strict constitutional rule against local and special legislation, and (2) The fact that the government of the state has been, with two exceptions, dominated by a single party, greatly facilitating other methods of executive control.

This is partially because it is easier for the state as a whole to watch the governor than for the district segregations to keep check on all of the members of the legislature."<sup>36</sup> In recent years few governors have refused to accept this responsibility; and, as a general rule, the legislators have been favorably inclined toward executive leadership.<sup>37</sup>

Certainly the legislatures have shown little disposition to enact statutes over executive disapproval. Of the 333 measures vetoed since 1909, fewer than 3 per cent have become law, while about an equal number have managed to muster the necessary majority in the house of origin but have failed to pass in the second chamber. In not more than 10 per cent of the cases have the vetoed measures even been proposed for reconsideration. Again, in nine of the ten instances in which the veto has been overcome, the favorable votes may be directly attributed to partisan differences between the governor and the houses;<sup>38</sup> and hence are not, as far as can be ascertained, evidences of legislative hostility toward executive participation in the formulation of public policy. In this matter no emphasis need at present be placed upon the extraordinary majorities required to override the veto. Although this provision was originally adopted to protect the governor in the exercise of his power, it is of no value today except to insure consistency in the legislative process.<sup>39</sup>

The general language in which the veto is cast does not state or imply any definite limitations upon the scope of the power such as were contemplated under the original grant and recognized by the early governors. In requiring that "Every bill passed by the legislature shall be presented to the

<sup>36</sup>*Messages of the Governors*, vol. IV, p. 577 (1911).

<sup>37</sup>There are, however, some notable exceptions. At times members of the houses have protested violently against what they termed "executive autocracy." See *Michigan House Journal*, 1923, pp. 1215-1218. The writer was told that the legislative council was created as a step in a program designed to return legislative responsibility to the houses.

<sup>38</sup>Six of Governor Ferris' vetoes were overridden by hostile political majorities in the legislature. For denial of this assertion see *Michigan Senate Journal*, 1915, p. 1564. In the last administration, 1933-1935, although the Democrats had a small majority in either house, factional differences and a sizeable republican minority were responsible for Governor Comstock's three reversals.

<sup>39</sup>The present constitution prevents minority legislation in providing that "No bill shall become a law without the concurrence of a majority of all the members elected to each house." Art. V, sect. 23.



governor before it becomes a law," and in providing a simple procedure for executive disposal, the section presents no distinctions to raise doubts as to the circumstances in which the veto may be exercised. This statement has lent itself to the changing conception of the power so that, throughout the history of the state, the proper limits of the power have been determined by a balance between executive discretion, tempered by political expediency, and the constitutional right of the houses to override the governor's negative. Thus there has been little or no opportunity for judicial determination of the scope of the power. In those cases where the question has been raised before it, the court has been inclined to interpret the grant as restrictive in character; yet in only one case, the item veto, has the legislative position of the governor been weakened through judicial construction.

In interpreting the power as the exercise of a legislative function, the court has insisted upon the strict limitations exacted by the doctrine of separation of powers. "The veto is a legislative function," said the court, "although it is not affirmative and creative but is strictly negative and destructive. It cannot be exercised by the executive except through constitutional grant—This historical and constitutional division of the powers of government forbids the intrusion, otherwise than by explicit language or necessary implication, of the powers of one department to another."<sup>40</sup> Thus, when called upon to interpret the extent of the governor's authority under the item veto, the court ruled that the power was restricted to the plain language of the grant and that he was not authorized to reduce items. "The language of section 37 must be read with all intendments against enlargement beyond its plain words. In this State the general veto power never has included and does not include the authority to modify a bill or disapprove it in part. . . . The power of the governor under it, like the general veto power, is to approve or disapprove. Neither the language of the section nor its purpose carries necessary implication of power to reduce an item in

<sup>40</sup>Wood v. State Administrative Board, 255 Mich. 224 (1931).



amount, nor, in the ordinary use of the words, would such a construction be justified."<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless in the same opinion the court declared that, however limited the scope of the power may be, the section should be so interpreted as to achieve the clear purposes of the grant. In the division of legislative responsibility, the constitution contemplates that neither branch shall exercise its functions in such a manner as will interfere with an equally free exercise of the functions delegated to the other; yet, in adopting the practice of temporary adjournments, the legislature raised a point which, if sustained, would have permitted the houses to dictate the conditions of the veto. It is widely recognized that "An essential element of a veto is that the governor 'shall return it [the bill] with his objections to the house in which it originated.'"<sup>42</sup> Failure to comply with this procedural requirement is fatal, thus the legislature, or even the originating house, could through the simple expediency of temporary adjournment prevent the return, and hence obstruct the free exercise of the constitutional power. Holding that the legislature should not be allowed to abridge the constitutional grant or otherwise obstruct the governor in the exercise of his authority, the court refused to recognize any possible legal consequences of temporary adjournment and held that the "return of a bill may be made to a house although it is not in actual session."<sup>43</sup>

The contentions in the case were built around a peculiar interpretation of the consequences of temporary adjournment. Apparently there were no doubts as to the right of the houses to authorize their officers to present bills for approval or of the governor to approve bills so presented during the recess period. On this point the ruling of the supreme court in the *La Abra* case was accepted by all parties, *sub silentio*.<sup>44</sup> Like-

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 225-226.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 230. See also, *Opinions of the Attorney General*, Mich., 1911, pp. 283-284; *La Abra Silver Mining Co. v. United States*, 175 U. S. 423, 44 L. Ed. 223; *Okanogan Indians v. United States*, 279 U. S. 655, 73 L. Ed. 894.

<sup>43</sup>*Wood v. State Administrative Board*, 255 Mich. 231.

<sup>44</sup>The right of the president to approve bills during the ten day period was sustained, even though the approval was granted on a day in which the houses were not in actual session. 175 U. S. 423, 44 L. Ed. 223.

wise it appears to have been taken for granted that the adjournment was not of such a character as to make the "pocket veto" effective. The court rejected the doctrine of the Pocket Veto Case<sup>45</sup> as inapplicable in these circumstances, because it said, "we cannot hold that the originating house may destroy the executive power of veto by preventing return through its adjournment. . . It will be conceded that the constitution intends to preserve such powers of the governor without possibility of abridgement by the legislature; and further that it purports to declare the effect, in each instance and without exception, of the failure of the governor to exercise the power of active veto within the stated time and of the action of the legislature in preventing an opportunity for active veto by adjournment. . . The provision that a bill shall finally fail if the legislature, by adjournment prevent such return is, in practical effect, a sort of penalty imposed upon the legislature for depriving the governor of the power of active veto."<sup>46</sup>

Notwithstanding its conditional success the veto has always been a somewhat unsatisfactory means of legislative control in that it "is not affirmative and creative but is strictly negative and destructive." Nor is it reasonable to believe that the veto may be made more positive and affirmative. Some degree of success has been claimed in those states where the constitutions authorize the governors to amend objectionable measures; but where, as in Michigan, 50 per cent of all legislation is presented for executive approval in the final days of the session, or even subsequent to adjournment, amendment would, in fact constitute a veto. At one time a similar plan was tried in this state. In an attempt to return responsibility to the legislature, the governor requested the originating house to recall objectionable measures for further consideration; and, if recalled, he would set forth in an accompanying message his objections and recommend changes which would assure

<sup>45</sup>*Okanogan Indians v. United States*, 279 U. S. 655, 73 L. Ed. 894.

<sup>46</sup>*Wood v. State Administrative Board*, 255 Mich. 229-232.

executive approval. The practice proved unsatisfactory and was soon abandoned.

Again, the potential value of any instrument of government depends upon the circumstances within which it operates. One hundred years ago, when the veto was first adopted in Michigan, the business of state government was comparatively simple; and as recently as twenty-five years ago, when it was extended to include specific items in appropriation bills, the determination of state policy was not the intricate process it now is. An extensive use of the veto was condoned during those years upon an assumption of superior executive understanding of the needs of the state; but the quantity, complexity and technical character of present day legislation invalidates this supposition. The governor no longer has the time or the expert knowledge necessary to undertake an exhaustive and detailed study of legislation and legislative needs; consequently, the task is delegated to others—frequently to persons holding no responsible governmental positions—and executive approval is granted or refused upon the basis of their recommendations. When the veto is exercised in this manner, unknown and uncontrollable factors are introduced so that neither the houses nor the people have knowledge of the forces which ultimately determine the course of legislation.

Because of its inherent weaknesses and the difficulties involved in its exercise, the general veto has become discredited as a means of legislative control and has been supplemented or supplanted by more positive agencies. Although it proved advantageous during the 19th century, the practice of strengthening the position of the governor to compensate for legislative deficiencies has created an unfortunate situation. The use of the veto in the determination of state policy focused public attention upon the governor and encouraged an assumption of legislative power not contemplated under our system of government. Through the constitutional power of executive approval the governor became the chief legislative officer of the state and assumed responsibility for the formulation and direction of the legislative program. Since the negative

character of the veto rendered it inadequate for the enforcement of these new responsibilities, the governor began casting about for extra-constitutional methods of influencing the course of legislation.

These tactics have been lauded as efforts on the part of the executives to lend constructive and intelligent leadership to an otherwise irresponsible system; yet, in almost all cases, they have led to undesirable bickering, the consequences of which are not readily discernible. Furthermore, these practices have completed a vicious circle, demoralizing the legislative process, and facilitating that shifting of responsibility which Governor Osborn branded "as unwholesome as it is improper and undesirable."

## CENTENNIAL NOTES

**T**HE first fifty years of Michigan's statehood were devoted to the development and exploitation of very extensive and varied natural resources of the two peninsulas.

United States surveyors had reported that Southern Michigan was "one vast morass", but thousands of pioneers from New York and New England and from many European countries flocked in to establish homes for their families upon the gently rolling, fertile farmlands, upon the banks of its myriad limpid lakes and along its rippling streams.

Before many years, the great copper deposits of the Upper Peninsula which had attracted the attention of Cass and Schoolcraft, were developed and the mines furnished vast quantities of copper to the industrial world.

A little later the State produced the iron ore for the steel mills of Pennsylvania and thus had an essential part in the development of our vast railway systems and the industrial plants of the entire country.

North of the Flint and Grand rivers, the country was almost completely covered with the finest pine and hardwood that ever grew, and for years the forests resounded with the trees falling before the axe of the woodsmen.

The Great Lakes surrounding the peninsulas were teeming with delicious fish and a great industry in this food-supply was developed.

The State was dotted with numerous small villages, with white steeples pointing heavenward among the trees, the comfortable homes of our contented people. Even the cities were small and homey.

Based upon these great productive industries others were developed like the vast commercial shipping of the Great Lakes, supplemented by the passenger steamers, the furniture factories, the copper and brass rolling mills and those for the fabrication of iron and steel.

The last fifty years have been devoted very largely to industrial development in a great variety of lines and Michigan has

outclassed the world in the production of drugs, soda-ash, seeds, stoves, and freight-cars. Lastly, the automobile industry which now supplies the entire world with this miraculous method of locomotion and has relegated the horse to the fields and racetracks. This State was the leader in the construction of good roads which now grid-iron the whole country; and the wilds of the North, with their lakes, streams and hills, have become a vast summer play-ground, attracting the automobile tourists of all the neighboring States.

Above all, our industrial State has become a great cultural and educational centre. Within its borders are three of the largest and most influential universities in the country, and there are also a large number of smaller colleges. These are superimposed upon an unequaled school system, whereby education is afforded to all of the children of the State.

The villages still remain but many of the cities have grown to great manufacturing centres and the City of Detroit has become a great commercial and industrial metropolis. The population of the State has increased from about 60,000 to nearly 5,000,000 inhabitants.

Thus our Michigan is in an unusually fortunate and prosperous situation as it enters upon its second century of progress.

—Contributed by Mr. Orla B. Taylor, Detroit, President of the Detroit Historical Society.

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**M**ORE than 150 Michigan Centennial celebrations were held throughout the State this year, each one emphasizing some phase or periods in local history, and all keyed to State history. These local celebrations ranged all the way from historical picnics and programs to elaborate pageantry and parades with other spectacular features. Most of them covered a three-day event, some went five days, while two ran a full week and one county-wide celebration continued for ten days.



Attendance at all these celebrations was very gratifying to the local committees and persons sponsoring them. It ranged from 200 or 300 at the smaller gatherings to 50,000 and 60,000 at the large, pretentious celebrations.

Associated with nearly all these celebrations, and a very important part of them, were collections of historical relics, heirlooms, documents, photographs, newspapers and old records displayed in store windows. Some of these exhibits, if collected, would make a sizeable local museum. Quite a number of committees did ask the loan of exhibits as the nucleus for a permanent local museum. Considerable data collected at several of the local celebrations also has real historical value and will be assembled at the close of the Centennial for permanent files in the archives of the Michigan Historical Commission.

Most County Fairs in the State also featured the Centennial in some form, but generally with a special historical exhibit. Some had parades featuring development in agricultural machinery during the past 100 years. The State Fair at Detroit had a very fine historical exhibit commemorative of the State's 100th anniversary.

Besides these celebrations there were many splendid school programs and school projects featuring local and Michigan history.

There were also many special Centennial meetings and programs in churches, societies, civic and patriotic organizations. The State Federation of Women's Clubs and the Daughters of the American Revolution set apart one Centennial meeting for each local club and chapter in their respective year books.

All together the first year of Michigan's Centennial was a tremendous success from all angles—the local interest manifested in staging them; the merit of the pageantry, parades, exhibits and programs; and the attendance at each event. There is no local Celebration Committee or Celebration unit throughout the State that did not report its local affair a splendid success. This is also borne out by the mass of news-



paper clippings on file with the Michigan Centennial Joint Committee at Lansing. Up to the present time the clippings fill six large scrap books. If cut up into single columns and pasted end to end, the string of Centennial publicity for 1935 would be over one mile long.

During the entire season it appears that almost every local celebration happened to pick days when the weather was favorable, or the "Weather man" decided to be good. Only one celebration in the State failed to materialize as scheduled. It was at Wyandotte, but due to no fault of the local committee. Wyandotte had the largest celebration planned in the State for this year, with a pageant cast of 1,500 characters and an "all-nations" parade in native costume as the leading features. The dates were September 13, 14 and 15, but on account of the infantile paralysis epidemic in late summer and early fall, which prohibited assemblages, rehearsals for the pageant had to be discontinued and the celebration was postponed until 1936. Dates will be announced later.

One of the outstanding events of the Centennial was the Women's Centennial exposition held in the civic auditorium at Grand Rapids, November 11 to 16. More than 50 communities of the State sent special exhibits to the exposition and took other active parts in it. The dominant note of the exposition was showing what women had contributed to the progress of the State during the past 100 years. The exposition had the cooperation of the Grand Rapids Chamber of Commerce, other civic and patriotic organizations, the city government, and the West Michigan Tourist and Resort Association.

Several of the larger celebrations this year will be repeated in 1936. Notably among them is Ludington, which staged a wonderful pageant depicting the life and work of Father Marquette; and Charlevoix, which chose the thrilling period of the Mormon colony on Beaver Island for its pageant. However, Charlevoix will dramatize these stirring episodes with local talent for presentation next year, and the city may decide to make it an annual event. There is also discussion favorable

to making the Marquette pageant at Ludington an annual event.

Prospects for as many celebrations in 1936 as this year, are very encouraging, and it is certain many of them will be on a much larger scale than any during the past season. About 40 communities had their committees organized for celebrations in 1936 by the middle of October, and new committees are reporting almost daily. There is no doubt that the Centennial will be emphasized more strongly in the schools next year than in 1935.

Among the outstanding Centennial celebrations scheduled for 1936, is a historical pageant which will be one of the leading attractions at the Michigan State Fair.

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**M**ICHIGAN'S Centennial postage stamp is the outstanding contribution to the statewide program of celebrations. It was released from the Lansing postoffice November 1, the capital of Michigan being given the honor of having the first-day issue. On November 2 the stamp was placed on sale in all postoffices throughout the Nation.

For stamp collectors Lansing was the Mecca of the Nation November 1. A total of 176,962 "First Day Covers" were mailed from the Lansing postoffice the first day. This broke all records for "First Day Covers," exceeding the Boulder Dam issue, which previously held the record, by more than 20,000.

The sale of uncanceled stamps also broke all previous records by more than 100,000. The total sale of all Michigan Centennial stamps the first day was 557,746. The total pieces of mail sent from the Lansing office the first day was 275,000, a day record for the office.

Collectors from all parts of the country were in Lansing for the first issue, and agreed that the Michigan Centennial stamp is the most attractive of any special stamps issued in years.

R. E. Fellers, superintendent of the Division of Mails, Washington, D. C., came to Lansing to supervise the first issue. He

was high in praise of the efficient manner in which the big sale was handled, and said it was the first time he had even seen "First Day Covers" all cleared from the office in train time on the opening day.

Mr. Fellers also praised the statewide program plan of celebrations, which gives each community in the state an opportunity to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Michigan in any manner best suited to its local history and environmental requirements. He said it is the finest and most far-reaching type of special celebration he has known.

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THE State Historical Society recently held two notable Centennial meetings, one at Battle Creek on October 5 commemorating the adoption of the first Michigan state constitution and one at Detroit on November 2 celebrating the 100th anniversary of the first Michigan legislature.

Professor Harold M. Dorr of the University of Michigan spoke at the Battle Creek meeting on "The Convention and Constitution of 1835." Governor Fitzgerald was represented on the program by Mr. Albert L. Miller, editor and publisher of the Battle Creek *Enquirer-News*, who took as his subject "Pioneer Michigan". Justice William W. Potter of the State Supreme Court discussed "The Bench and Bar of Michigan." All were able, informing and interesting addresses worthy of the audience which gathered to do honor to Michigan's constitutional growth through a hundred years.

Lovely were the musical numbers rendered by Mrs. Gordon Riley, Soprano, accompanied by Mr. Fred W. Gage at the piano. Mrs. Riley sang "The Hills of Home," by Oscar Fox, and Rasbach's "Trees". Professor Smith Burnham of Western State Teachers College, vice-president of the Society, was the presiding officer, and Mr. Burritt Hamilton of Battle Creek acted as master of ceremonies.

This was a dinner meeting, at Post Tavern, and was thoroughly enjoyed by all who participated. The Committee of Arrangements consisted of Mrs. Lillian Bailey, Mr. Edward

M. Brigham, Mr. James H. Brown, Mr. George B. Dolliver, Mr. James Frey, Mr. Fred Gage, Mrs. Leah M. Giddings, Mr. Rudolph Habermann, Mrs. R. F. Hoffmaster, Mr. Joseph W. McAuliffe, Mr. Eugene McKay, Mr. John Leland Mechem, and Mr. Albert L. Miller.

The meeting at Detroit which was also a dinner meeting had a very pleasant setting in the Grand Ball Room of Book-Cadillac Hotel. President Carl Pray, professor of history in Michigan State Normal College presided and Mr. Orla B. Taylor who is president of the Detroit Historical Society acted as master of ceremonies. Mr. George Galvani, baritone, sang a group of very appropriate selections and gave as an encore the Douglas Malloch version of "Michigan, My Michigan." The program was a varied one consisting of a number of short talks by distinguished citizens, among them presiding officers of the House and Senate and other members of the state legislature. Lieut. Governor Read and speakers George Schroeder and Martin Bradley were among these. Among the other speakers were Gen. Heinrich Pickert, who represented Mayor Couzens, Mr. A. C. Carton of Lansing representing Governor Fitzgerald, Dr. Charles Sink of Ann Arbor, Mrs. George D. Schermerhorn of Reading, Mrs. Charles H. Metcalf and Mrs. Lloyd D. Smith both of Detroit, General Edward Heckel, Sup't. Frank Cody of Detroit Public Schools, Mr. Sidney T. Miller, Sr., of Grosse Pointe, and Mr. Merlin Wiley of Detroit.

Governor Chase S. Osborn who was asked to be among the speakers had a conflicting engagement in a distant state but sent the following note:

Greetings to you all in assembly at the great historical meeting in Detroit on this November 2, 1935, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the first meeting of the Michigan legislature.

If Michigan were a man it would be old. But being a multitude of men and women, and only a hundred years old as a state, it is still in its swaddling clothes. Michigan is just beginning to find itself spiritually, socially and economically.

The fortunate states of the world have lived as long as a thousand years. China has been in existence five thousand years. India may have lived even longer. Both are still nourishing hordes of mankind.

Michigan has the power to sustain the life, and create the happiness and welfare of 25,000,000 people or more. Its population will exceed that some day.

I predict for Michigan as long a life as China and India, with less turbulence, more satisfactions, and fewer political changes. There is no right reason why the State should not celebrate thousands of years of anniversaries. This being the first one of special distinction, it will be regarded with interest and enrichment all that time.

Respectfully,

CHASE S. OSBORN.

Bishop Gallagher was also one of the speakers unable to be present. He sent the following message:

I regret very much that owing to the pressure of diocesan affairs, I must deny myself the pleasure of attending the banquet commemorating the Centennial of the first Michigan Legislature. I wish that I were able to join you in paying a reverent tribute to the men whom we see dimly through the haze of a hundred years struggling valiantly to establish their constitutional rights in this fair peninsula then barely reclaimed from the wilderness of the West.

The professional historians at your gathering will relate the stirring tale of how Michigan finally achieved statehood and took her rightful place in the Union. To me the knowledge of the spirit which animated the pioneers of our civil liberties is more important than the tribulations which they encountered. I believe that I find it in the closing paragraph of Governor Mason's message to the first legislature, a sentence which is the peer of every noble utterance found in American state papers.

"It remains, fellow citizens, that faithful to ourselves, and to our own rights and liberties, we fervently supplicate that Divine Being, who holds in His hands the chain of events and the destiny of states, to enlighten our minds, guide our councils, and prosper our measures, so that whatever we may do shall result in the welfare and tranquility of the people of Michigan, and shall secure to us the friendship and approbation of the nation."

Since those words were spoken Michigan has become a great state peopled by men and women whom her name has drawn from every country of the world. If in a gathering such as yours we meet again to inspire ourselves at the shrine of our political origins, we may well ponder the words of our first governor. The foundations laid by the pioneers were staunch and secure; we must guard them against the destructive forces that have been let loose in these latter days. The end and purpose of our statehood must still be what it was a hundred years ago when Michigan proudly took her rank alongside her sister states, under God, the welfare and tranquility of the people of Michigan.

With best wishes for the success of your celebration, I remain,

Cordially yours,

MICHAEL J. GALLAGHER,  
Bishop of Detroit.

**M**R. ORLA B. TAYLOR, president of the Detroit Historical Society, has been appointed Trustee of the State Historical Society to succeed Mr. Clarence E. Bement of Lansing recently deceased.

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**W**E are glad to make note of a new historical enterprise of Virginia, mother of statesmen, birthplace of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and other great notables of our history, including Michigan's first governor, Stevens T. Mason. With a wealth of colonial background, the people of Virginia have always shown keen interest in their ancestry and history and have produced a variety of scholarly publications, among them the *Virginia Historical Magazine*, the *William and Mary Quarterly*, *Tyler's Quarterly*, the *Virginia Historical Register*, the *Lower Norfolk Antiquary*, *Hening's Statutes*, and the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*. This great mass of material which comprises considerably over a hundred volumes is now being analyzed and indexed in a great work to be known as *The Virginia Historical Index*, of which the first volume (A to K) has just come from the press. The price per volume for this work is \$50. The supervision and editing is in charge of Dr. E. G. Swem, Librarian of William and Mary College. Dr. Charles M. Andrews of Yale University describing this work in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1935, says:

"Nothing quite comparable with this publication has ever been produced in the field of American historiography. As a tool of trade, serving alike the historian, local investigator, genealogist, biographer, journalist, novelist, and essayist, this index to one hundred and twenty volumes of literary and textual material relating to every phase of life in Virginia for more than three hundred years is beyond price. Time cannot abate its usefulness or bring a rival into existence, for what it has accomplished could not be better done nor will it ever need to be done again. Originated by Mr. Fairfax Harrison, chairman of the board of founders and himself a noteworthy



contributor to Virginia's history, stimulated by the great interest aroused by Mr. Rockefeller's restoration of Williamsburg, and entrusted to the competent hands of Dr. E. G. Swem, librarian of William and Mary College and editor of its historical quarterly, the index has been in the making for the past six or seven years. The first volume, a large quarto of 1118 pages, sumptuously printed and bound, is now before us, containing the entries from A. to K. Unhampered by any conditions imposed by Mr. Harrison and his colleagues, Dr. Swem has been free to make his plans as he pleased and to organize the undertaking in such a way as would best conduce to the ease and convenience of the user. Under his direction, as designer and architect, a staff of collaborators have divided among themselves the labor of search and the preparation of the cards. To all these, as also to Mr. Harrison, Mr. Putnam of the Library of Congress, and Mr. Stone, the president of the company that is printing the work, are due the thanks, not only of Dr. Swem, who pays his tribute in his preface, but of everyone to whom Virginia's history is a matter of interest and gratification."

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Dear Editor:

**H**ERE are some notes on the "Old" Bank of Michigan which might interest your readers.

On September 15, 1806, the first bank ever established in the Northwest was incorporated in Detroit, and was called the Bank of Detroit, but this institution was short-lived as its charter was revoked in 1809. The bank occupied a building on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street, and this structure was in later years occupied by the Bank of Michigan.

In 1818 the Bank of Michigan was incorporated, and in the following year began business with John R. Williams, President; James McCloskey, Cashier, and David Cooper, Clerk. Inasmuch as, a small portion of the stock only had been subscribed the bank went into operation with very limited means,



and did but a small business until 1824 when some business men from the East took up the balance of the stock. From 1830 to 1841 no financial institution in the country stood higher than did the Bank of Michigan. However, in 1841, due to various causes, it was compelled to make an assignment, and subsequently its assets were placed in the hands of a receiver.

The writer is fortunate in possessing a small book, "Teller's Statement No. 1 of the Bank of Michigan of January 1819 to April 1819". Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, Cashier of the Bank of Michigan, 1825-1836, presented this book to Mr. C. M. Davison, Cashier of the Second National Bank, and when, in 1883, the charter of the Second National expired the volume was given to Duncan Stewart, who was then Assistant Cashier of that Bank.

The "First Teller's Statement" gives us a striking comparison between the statements of this day and those of 1819. When the bank opened Saturday, January 2, 1819, the receipts of the day were \$10,473.23, and the balance April 2, 1819, amounted to \$19,497.68. The receipts for that day were \$221.00.

The book is an ordinary notebook with a thick cardboard cover, six and one-half by eight and one-half inches. The paper is yellow with age, and guide lines are noted as having been made with both pen and pencil. Two pages are devoted to each day of the month, and at the top and on the left there appears the day of the week below which are the figures for the "Ballance", Receipts, and Total, while on the right hand page at the top is found the date, and below, the itemized statement.

Hon. C. C. Trowbridge has commented in writing on some of the pages in the book. There are the following examples:

January 27—1819

Silver .....	6457.79 $\frac{1}{4}$
Gold .....	4281.54 $\frac{1}{4}$
U. S. Notes .....	10.00
New York .....	20.00
Bill Exchange .....	2500.00

Own Notes .....	1303.	
Piatt .....	40.00	
		<hr/>
		14612.33½
Expenses .....	152.08½	
Checks .....	127.30½	
		<hr/>
		14892.71½    14612.33½
		<hr/>

"A new element introduced. Expenses are found to be assets". It might also be noted that the total is incorrect on the books, as it should be \$14891.71½. Again, in the statement of February 3, 1819 the expenses, \$107.15, are considered as assets. The Clerk has entered under Wednesday, February 10, 1819 that there was "No business on the 8th-9th. Ballance same as on 6th". Mr. Trowbridge has added a note to this: "He was probably off with a sleighing party to Monroe. Such was the custom". What would happen these days if the bankers did such things?

DUNCAN STEWART, Jr., Ph.D.,  
Michigan State College.

THE State Pioneer Museum is indebted to Mr. P. W. A. Fitzsimmons of Detroit for the gift of a statuette of Michigan's first governor, Stevens T. Mason. This is a handsome reproduction of the statue of the governor on Capitol Square, Detroit, and as an appropriate Centennial gift it occupied a place of honor at the speakers' table at the recent Detroit meeting commemorating Michigan's first state legislature. Governor Mason's inaugural address was printed in the program Souvenir used at this meeting, being part of the proceedings of the legislature in its opening days one hundred years ago.